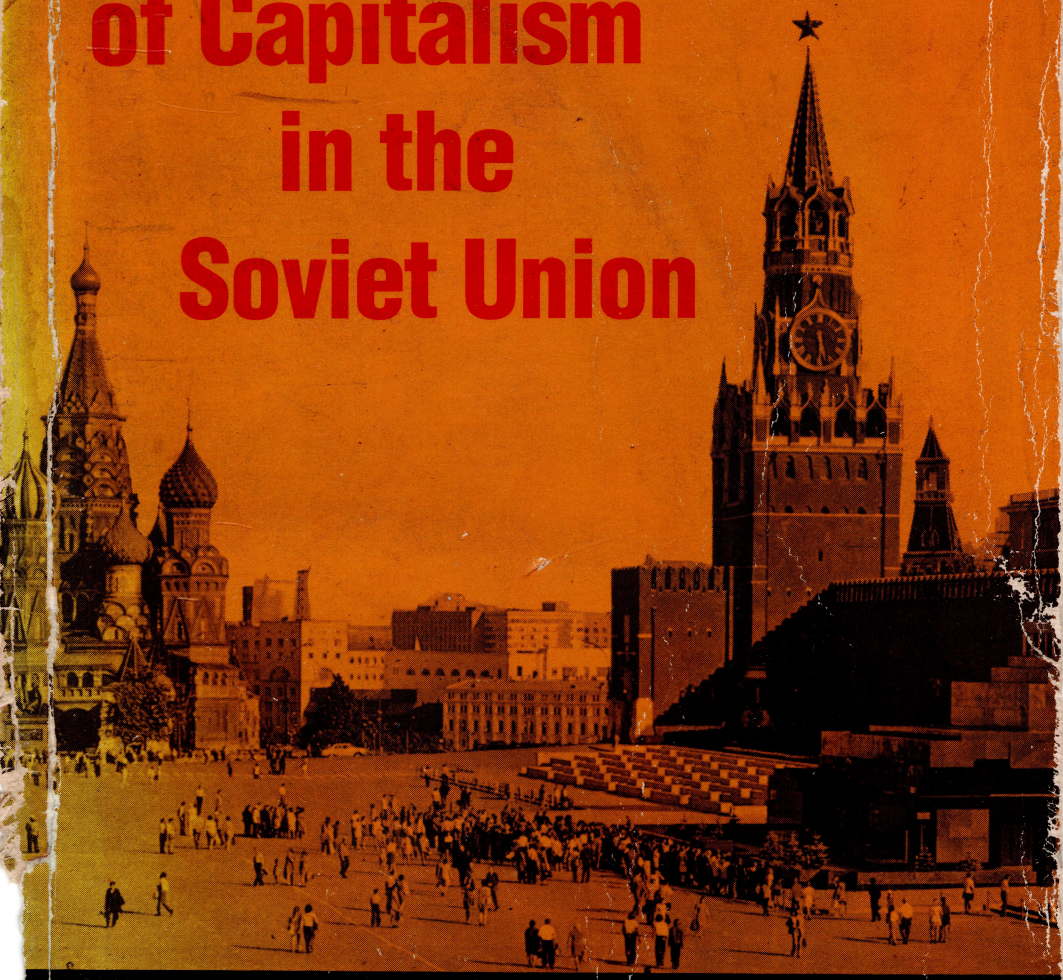
Willi Dickhut

The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union



New Road Edition

The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union

Willi Dickhut

Verlag Neuer Weg

Willi Dickhut
The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union
English Edition
July 1994
Edited in German
September 1988
Neuer Weg Verlag und Druck GmbH
(New Road Edition)
Kaninenberghöhe 2, 45136 Essen
Germany
All rights reserved.
Willi Dickhut, Head of the Editorial Team
REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG
First published in the series of REVOLUTIONARER WEG,
No. 7—9, 1971/1972
New expanded edition: September 1988
ISBN 3-88021-249-X

CONTENTS

List of Tables ..... *v*
List of Figures ..... *vi*
Preface to the English edition ..... *vii*
Introduction by JOSE MARIA SISON ..... *ix*
Translators' Notes ..... *xiv*

I Transformation of the Bureaucracy into a New Type of Bourgeoisie *1*

1. Development of the Bureaucracy from a Petty-Bourgeois Stratum to the New Bourgeois Ruling Class *1*
2. The Revisionist Coup d'Etat by Khrushchov and the Systematization of Revisionist Ideology *27*
3. The Revisionist Fraud of the "State of the Whole People" and the Abolition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat *44*

II The Economy of Bureaucratic Capitalism *61*

1. The Foundations of the Capitalist and the Socialist Economy *61*
2. The Revisionists Make Capitalist Profit the Chief Principle of Soviet Economy *82*
3. The Revisionists Do Away With the Socialist Principle of Distribution *104*
4. The Revisionists Supplant the Socialist Principle of Labor Productivity by the Capitalist Principle *116*

III From Bureaucratic Capitalism to Social-Imperialism *153*

1. Development of the New Form of Capitalism into Social-Imperialism *153*

2. The Economic, Political and Military Expansion of Social-Imperialism *177*
3. The Economic Integration of Social-Imperialism in the Imperialist System and the Contradictions on a World Scale *207*
4. The Ideological Integration of Social-Imperialism in the Imperialist World System *239*
5. Problems of the Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union *268*

IV Social-Imperialism — A New Type of State Monopoly Capitalism *277*

1. The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union as a Negative Example *277*
2. Social-Imperialism as a New Type of State Monopoly Capitalism *297*
3. Class Struggle in Socialist Society and the Tradition of Bourgeois Ideology *338*
4. The Significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China *359*

V The Soviet Union — The Social-Imperialist Superpower *385*

1. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and its European Parallel *385*
2. The Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 ..... *394*
3. The Bloody Border Provocations of the Social-Imperialists against then Socialist China in 1969 ..... *405*
4. The Expansion of Social-Imperialism in Africa and Asia *416*

VI New Appearances in International Relations *441*

1. Change of the Principle of Peaceful Coexistence *441*
2. Gorbachov's Turn to the "New Political Thinking" *446*

List of Tables

1. Absolute volume of profits and turnover tax in state enterprises 78
2. Pay Grade 108
3. Comparison of targeted and actual output (1970) 148
4. Further comparison of targeted and actual output (1970) 149
5. The different prices for Soviet exports to the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. (1971) 176
6. Afghanistan's Exports to the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and India (1963/64) 186
7. Soviet Exports to Egypt, Set Against Prices for G.D.R. and F.R.G. 188
8. Targets of growth rates in industry and agriculture of the Soviet Union according to the Five Year Plan 1976 - 1980 289
9. Steel production: shares of old open-hearth process and new oxygen process (1975) 293
10. Soviet Export of Raw Materials 1971 - 1975 302
11. Imports of Crude Aluminum to Turkey 316
12. Deliveries of Specialized Products between CMEA Countries 317
13. Production of Steel, Oil and Artificial Fertilizer in China 376
14. Steel Production of Some Important Countries of the World 377
15. Production of Major Industrial Commodities in Afghanistan 433
16. Gross National Product (GNP) — Comparison 446

List of Figures

1. Trade between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. 304
2. Trade Partners of the Soviet Union 320
3. Class Struggle: from Socialism to Communism 353
4. Highest Nuclear Weapons Density in the World 393
5. Map of the Sino-Soviet boundary 407
6. Soviet Expansion in Africa and Asia 421
7. Military Bases of the Superpowers on the Indian Ocean 425
8. Positions of Soviet and Afghan army and air force units in January 1980 438
9. Soviet Union: A Lame Economic Giant 445

Preface to the English Edition

The international working class asks itself today: how was such an economic and political collapse in the Soviet Union and the former socialist countries, involving the disintegration of national unity, possible? How was such a negative development of human society able to prevail? What are the fundamental causes giving rise to this decay? This book helps to answer these questions. Since first being published in 1971 and 1972 as REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG (theoretical organ of the MLPD) No. 7, 8 and 9, it has been expanded by several more recent studies, including an investigation of Gorbachev's *perestroika* policy. This book proves that the negative development had its starting point in the triumph of modern revisionism under Khrushchev's leadership at the XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956. The seizure of power by a new bourgeoisie, which developed out of a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy, destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat and resulted in the gradual restoration of capitalism. This was no private capitalism along the lines of the monopoly capitalism of the West. It was a capitalism of a new type: bureaucratic capitalism! That, and not the collapse of bureaucratic capitalism which took place at the beginning of the nineties, was the "end of socialism" in the Soviet Union. The book refutes the erroneous view that capitalism was not restored in the Soviet Union until Gorbachev came along. It proves: socialism has not come to an end — it is the only way out of capitalist exploitation and oppression!

INTRODUCTION

By Jose Maria Sison
Founding Chairman
Communist Party of the Philippines

Everyone interested in acquiring a comprehensive and profound understanding of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries in the Soviet bloc, up to the destruction of the revisionist ruling parties and revisionist-ruled regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union, must read Willi Dickhut's ***The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union.***

The translation and publication of this book in English are of great importance to revolutionary activists, intellectuals and scholars in the English-reading world. Previously, the book had been translated into Turkish, French, Spanish, Finnish, Greek and Persian from the German original.

This book is written by an outstanding proletarian revolutionary fighter and worker-theoretician, using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. The analysis is based on a wealth of information and data. The insights are sharpened by the author's lifelong involvement in the workers' revolutionary struggle in Germany and his first hand knowledge of the Soviet Union.

The book traces the development of the bureaucracy from a petty-bourgeoisified stratum to a new-type bourgeoisie as ruling class under Khrushchov's leadership in 1956, points to the anti-Marxist revisions in ideology and political and economic line and describes the economy of bureaucrat capitalism and its development as state monopoly capitalism and social-imperialism, especially from the time of Brezhnev and up to the anticommunist "new thinking" of Gorbachov.

The book exposes the oppression and exploitation suffered by the proletariat and the people under the sway of Soviet bureaucrat mo-

nopoly capitalism and social-imperialism not only in the Soviet Union and in the other countries in the Warsaw Pact and Council of Mutual Economic Assistance but also in other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which became sole neocolonies of the Soviet Union or joint neocolonies with the United States.

The two superpowers were engaged in both contention for global hegemony and collusion against the people of the world. Eventually, the greed of the Soviet monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the heavy toll of the arms race undermined the Soviet Union to the point of buckling under the superior industrial capitalist countries in the West and disintegrating.

The Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) played a key role in stimulating the internal process of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist-ruled societies. We are therefore fortunate to have the German author Willi Dickhut in providing us with the relevant facts and analysis. At any rate, he has such a comprehensive view that he can correlate the strategic thinking of the American Brezhinski and the Oost Politik of Willy Brandt and show the coordination of U.S. and German policies towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union is vindicated and proven correct by the actual disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and revisionist-ruled societies in the Soviet Union and its neocolonies. It can help us in taking a critical view of the revisionist ideas and processes prevailing in the restoration of capitalism in China, following the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought since 1976. After all, the road of Deng Xiaoping is no different from that of Tito and Khrushchov and their successors.

What gives Willi Dickhut the highest and most clearsighted vantage is his adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and his defense of the achievements of Lenin, Stalin and Mao in socialist revolution and construction. In the book, he integrates the Marxist-Leninist theory with his personal knowledge of the Soviet Union and his social research and investigation.

I am proud to have worked in parallel with Willi Dickhut in upholding and defending Marxism-Leninism and in criticizing and re-

pudiating modern revisionism from the 1960s onward. I am happy to come upon his explications of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and his critique of imperialism, modern revisionism and neocolonialism.

It is of great importance to make available to the English reading public the works of Willi Dickhut which are originally in German. They shed light on the long course of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for socialism and communism and they are urgently needed to help guide the proletariat of the world in striving to seize the revolutionary initiative in the wake of the disintegration of the revisionist parties and regimes and the unprecedented deepening and aggravation of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The works of Willi Dickhut are sharp weapons for combatting the anticommunist ideological and political offensive of the imperialists and their special retinue of petty-bourgeois bootlickers.

On an international scale, Willi Dickhut is one of the most outstanding sons of the working class who rise to the level of proletarian revolutionary fighter and a major Marxist-Leninist theoretician. He was born in 1904, the son of a small hauling entrepreneur. He was orphaned at the age of four and had formal education of only eight years because of poverty. He became an industrial worker at the age of fourteen and started to participate in the revolutionary mass movement of the working class at the age of eighteen.

In 1926, he joined the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). In 1928-29 he worked in the Soviet Union as an expert in the production of scissor-producing machine tools and while there he was a member of he Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After his return to Germany, he became unemployed until 1933 and he plunged further into the revolutionary work of the KPD and the trade union movement and became an outstanding workers' leader. He suffered repeated imprisonment and other forms of persecution under the Hitlerite fascist regime. He was slated for execution in 1944 but was able to escape from prison during an air raid.

He became leader of the illegal resistance of the German Communist Party against the Nazi regime in Solingen and continued to lead the Anti-Fascist Action until it was banned by the American military

police. He became a major leader of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) upon its reestablishment in 1945. In the course of his political activity, he was targeted for persecution by the German authorities and was banned from running for office and from exercising his right to vote. He was even officially deprived of his status as one who had been persecuted by the fascists.

In 1966 he was expelled from KPD because of his firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism and his antirevisionist position. He subsequently became a member of the KPD/Marxist-Leninist and founded the theoretical organ *REVOLUTIONARY WAY* in 1969. He took a leading role in 1972 in the foundation of the KABD (Communist Workers' League of Germany), the forerunner organization of Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD).

He fought the liquidationists in KABD in 1976. Further, he defended Mao Zedong Thought against the revisionist Deng Xiaoping in 1977 and against Enver Hoxha in 1979. He was a co-founder of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) in 1982 and continued to be the leader of *REVOLUTIONARY WAY* until 1991 inspite of his illness. Depite his ill health, he struggled to produce the *History of the MLPD* in two volumes, *Collected Quotations of Marxism-Leninism* in five volumes and *End of Socialism?*. He died on May 8, 1992.

His other major works are: *Materialist Dialectics and Bourgeois Natural Sciences* (a study on the research of laws and processes of development in nature and society), *Report on the Workers' Struggles, 1926-1948, Report on the Struggle of the Solingen Workers, After 1949, Proletarian Resistance Against Fascism and War* and *Exchange of Letters: On Questions of Theory and Practice of Party Building*. From 1969 to 1988, 24 issues of the theoretical organ of KABD and MLPD, *REVOLUTIONARY WAY*, were published under his leadership, providing the comprehensive ideological-political basis of MLPD. Among them are *Crises and Class Struggle, State Monopoly Capitalism in the Federal Republic of Germany, War and Peace and Socialist Revolution* and *Dialectical Unity of Theory and Practice*.

The works of Willi Dickhut are major contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. We thank the MLPD and the Verlag Neuer

Weg for preserving and propagating these works. These are a rich resource not only for the German proletariat but also for the proletariat of the world.

The entire life of Willi Dickhut, his devotion to the working class, his militant struggles against tremendous odds in so many periods of the German and world proletarian revolution, his theoretical works, his undying hope for socialism and communism are inspiring to the proletariat and people of the world.

Translators' Notes

Unless otherwise noted, works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong have been quoted from the following editions:

Lenin: *Collected Works*, 45 Volumes, Progress Publishers, Moscow/Lawrence & Wishart, London (1960-1970).

Stalin: *Works*, 13 Volumes, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow/Lawrence & Wishart, London (1952-1955), with the exception of J.V. Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing (1976), and *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing (1972).

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Selected Works* in 3 Volumes, Progress Publishers, Moscow (1977).

Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Volume I to V, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing (1975-1977).

In the original edition, all quotations from Russian-language Soviet newspaper and magazine articles have been translated into German. This was the basis for our translation into English as you find it in this edition.

The German-language Soviet publications *Sowjetunion heute* ("Soviet Union Today"), *Neue Zeit* ("New Epoch") and *Aussenhandel* ("Foreign Trade") have been translated by us from the German. Material quoted from other German-language books, magazines and newspapers has also been translated by us into English.

I

Transformation of the Bureaucracy into a New Type of Bourgeoisie

1. Development of the Bureaucracy from a Petty-Bourgeois Stratum to the New Bourgeois Ruling Class

Whoever spreads the scientific truth about the Soviet Union, calling it a former socialist, but today capitalist, country, must expect to be classified as "anti-Soviet" and labelled an "opportunist" by the leaders of the "German Communist Party" (DKP, i.e., the West German revisionist party - The Editors). However, every communist who closely examines the facts will be able to tell who betrayed the revolutionary legacy of Lenin and Stalin, and who has fallen into opportunism. It was and is the revisionists. In the Soviet Union they abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored capitalism, not as private capitalism, but as a new type of capitalism. Today, instead of the working class, a revisionist bureaucracy, the new bourgeoisie, exercises power over the people. How were the bureaucrats able to destroy proletarian democracy and set themselves up as the capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union? We want to give an answer to this question in the following chapter.

Lenin's Struggle against Bureaucracy

Though the Russian October Revolution of 1917 had toppled the power of capitalism and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle had not come to an end. On the contrary: it became harder, fiercer, more embittered. The period of the dictatorship of the proletariat means class struggle in a different form than before the seizing of power. It means:

> that the dictatorship of the proletariat is *also* a period of class struggle, which is inevitable as long as classes have not been abolished, and which changes in form, being particularly fierce and particularly peculiar in the period immediately following the overthrow of capital. The proletariat does not cease the class struggle after it has captured political power, but continues it until classes are abolished — of course, under different circumstances, in different form and by different means. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420)

Besides the old exploiting classes — the capitalists, inside and outside the country, and the landowners, who mobilized all reactionary forces to regain power by civil war — new enemies of the working class appeared. They were fostered by disorganization, hunger, misery and destruction, all of them circumstances of the war, and they were out to destroy the economy of the country by sabotage, speculation and swindle. Lenin pointed out in "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" that petty-bourgeois commodity production always produces capitalism anew:

> Peasant farming continues to be petty commodity production. Here we have an extremely broad and very sound, deep-rooted basis for capitalism, a basis on which capitalism persists or arises anew in a bitter struggle against communism. The forms of this struggle are private speculation and profiteering versus state procurement of grain (and other products) and state distribution of products in general. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 109)

Thus, in 1918 half of the grain for bread was delivered to the cities by the black market at prices ten times higher than the official price. Those declassed peasants, speculators and swindlers were allies of the bourgeoisie and class enemies of the workers. They were more dangerous than the open enemies at the front lines.

The great masses of the petty-bourgeois population in town and country, especially the small and middle peasantry, vacillate between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

> There is good reason for calling the petty-bourgeois element an element, for it is indeed something that is most amorphous, indefinite and unconscious.... Ruin, want and the hard conditions of life give rise to vacillation: one day for the bourgeoisie, the next, for the prole-

tariat. Only the steeled proletarian vanguard is capable of withstanding and overcoming this vacillation. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 361)

The bureaucracy in administration, economy and institutions also belongs to the petty-bourgeois strata. Although the old state machine was destroyed by the October Revolution, the victorious proletariat could not so easily do without the bourgeois administrative experts in central and local government and the bourgeois engineers and technical experts in industry. Lenin emphasized that the automatisms of officialism and bureaucracy are alien to the essence of socialism. Living, creative socialism must be the work of the masses themselves. A few days after the seizure of power Lenin appealed to the population:

> Comrades, working people! Remember that now *you yourselves* are at the helm of state. No one will help you if you yourselves do not unite and take into *your* hands *all affairs* of the state. *Your* Soviets are from now on the organs of state authority, legislative bodies with full powers....
>
> Ensure the strictest control over production and accounting of products. Arrest and hand over to the revolutionary courts all who dare to injure the people's cause.... (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 298)

Lenin had adopted the lessons of the Paris Commune, which were summarized by Marx and Engels. Engels, pointing to the danger of a state bureaucracy ruling society, spelled out the necessary countermeasures of the Commune in his introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*:

> Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society — an inevitable transformation in all previous states — the Commune made use of two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts — administrative, judicial and educational — by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. And, in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 francs. In this way an

effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies which were added besides. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 188)

In compliance with these basic measures, on December 1, 1917, the Council of the People's Commissars defined a maximum salary of about 500 rubles per month for the People's Commissars and for higher officials. This was the so-called Party maximum. Higher functionaries in the provinces received about half this sum. This regulation was an important measure to check the development of bureaucratic tendencies inside the Party. But it soon became evident that the vast work of administration, of economic management and scientific activities could not be successfully accomplished without enlisting the bourgeois intelligentsia. Lenin drew this conclusion: To win and enlist the bourgeois intelligentsia for the building of socialism, you have to apply the capitalist method of high pay. This measure, made necessary by overall circumstances, greatly influenced the further course of events. It was a compromise, a step backward. Lenin was quite conscious of the danger this entailed. He saw the way to overcome the danger by openly explaining it to the masses. This measure, a necessity at that time to enlist the services of the bourgeois intelligentsia, has such great significance for the later development of bureaucracy and the transfer of privileges to certain Party members that we quote Lenin's detailed justification essentially unabridged:

Without the guidance of experts in the various fields of knowledge, technology and experience, the transition to socialism will be impossible, because socialism calls for a conscious mass advance to greater productivity of labor compared with capitalism, and on the basis achieved by capitalism. Socialism must achieve this advance *in its own way*, by its own methods — or, to put it more concretely, by *Soviet* methods. And the specialists, because of the whole social environment which made them specialists, are, in the main, inevitably bourgeois. Had our proletariat, after capturing power, quickly solved the problem of accounting, control and organization on a national scale (which was impossible owing to the war and Russia's backwardness), then we, after breaking the sabotage, would also have

completely subordinated these bourgeois experts to ourselves by means of universal accounting and control. Owing to the considerable "delay" in introducing accounting and control generally, we, although we have managed to conquer sabotage, have *not yet* created the conditions which would place the bourgeois specialists at our disposal. The mass of saboteurs are "going to work," but the best organizers and top experts can be utilized by the state either in the old way, in the bourgeois way (i.e., for high salaries), or in the new way, in the proletarian way (i.e., creating the conditions of national accounting and control from below, which would inevitably and of itself subordinate the experts and enlist them for our work).

Now we have to resort to the old bourgeois method and to agree to pay a very high price for the "services" of the top bourgeois experts. All those who are familiar with the subject appreciate this, but not all ponder over the significance of this measure being adopted by the proletarian state. Clearly, this measure is a compromise, a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune and of every proletarian power, which call for the reduction of all salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker, which urge that careerism be fought not merely in words, but in deeds.

Moreover, it is clear that this measure not only implies the cessation — in a certain field and to a certain degree — of the offensive against capital (for capital is not a sum of money, but a definite social relation); it is also a *step backward* on the part of our socialist Soviet state power, which from the very outset proclaimed and pursued the policy of reducing high salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker....

We must study the specific features of the extremely difficult and new path to socialism without concealing our mistakes and weaknesses, and try to be prompt in doing what has been left undone. To conceal from the people the fact that the enlistment of bourgeois experts by means of extremely high salaries is a retreat from the principles of the Paris Commune would be sinking to the level of bourgeois politicians and deceiving the people. Frankly explaining how and why we took this step backward, and then publicly discussing what means are available for making up for lost time, means educating the people and learning from experience, learning together with the people how to build socialism....

It goes without saying that this question has another side to it. The corrupting influence of high salaries — both upon the Soviet authorities (especially since the revolution occurred so rapidly that it was

impossible to prevent a certain number of adventurers and rogues from getting into positions of authority, and they, together with a number of inept or dishonest commissars, would not be averse to becoming "star" embezzlers of state funds) and upon the mass of the workers — is indisputable. Every thinking and honest worker and poor peasant, however, will agree with us, will admit, that we cannot immediately rid ourselves of the evil legacy of capitalism, and that we can liberate the Soviet Republic from the duty of paying an annual "tribute" of fifty million or one hundred million rubles (a tribute for our own backwardness in organizing *country-wide* accounting and control *from below*) only by organizing ourselves, by tightening up discipline in our own ranks, by purging our ranks of all those who are "preserving the legacy of capitalism," who "follow the traditions of capitalism," i.e., of idlers, parasites and embezzlers of state funds (now all the land, all the factories and all the railways are the "state funds" of the Soviet Republic).... The sooner we ourselves, workers and peasants, learn the best labor discipline and the most modern technique of labor, using the bourgeois experts to teach us, the sooner we shall liberate ourselves from any "tribute" to these specialists. (Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 248-251)

These special privileges (like higher salaries, privileged living quarters, high standard of living) were limited at the time of Lenin to the petty-bourgeois stratum of the bureaucracy and bourgeois scientists. Lenin, nonetheless, clearly saw the danger which this posed. Even at that time, this great revolutionary theoretician and practical revolutionary recognized that mobilization and revolutionary advancement of the masses are the decisive means to combat this danger effectively. He consequently demanded:

1. that the workers and poor peasants must have the right
   a) to elect and recall the responsible leaders,
   b) to control the activities of the leaders,
   c) to place workers in responsible positions;
2. that the working masses should take all power into their hands and perfect themselves in the exercise of power (practical execution of the dictatorship of the proletariat).

In 1918, Lenin deplored that workers' control had penetrated only little into the life and consciousness of the broad masses of the prole-

tariat. It was certainly for this reason that Lenin took the initiative, time and again, to point, on the one hand, to the danger of bureaucracy and, on the other hand, to the mobilization of and control by the masses as the only effective means to counter the danger. Lenin therefore stressed:

> It goes without saying that the element of petty-bourgeois disorganization (which must *inevitably* be apparent to some extent in *every* proletarian revolution, and which is especially apparent in our revolution, owing to the petty-bourgeois character of our country, its backwardness and the consequences of a reactionary war) cannot but leave its impress upon the Soviets as well....
>
> There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians," or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing *all* the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration.... Our aim is to draw *the whole of the poor* into the practical work of administration, and all the steps that are taken in this direction — the more varied they are, the better — should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law....
>
> The fight against the bureaucratic distortion of the Soviet form of organization is assured by the firmness of the connection between the Soviets and the "people," meaning by that the working and exploited people, and by the flexibility and elasticity of this connection....
>
> It is the closeness of the Soviets to the "people," to the working people, that creates the special forms of recall and other means of control from below which must be most zealously developed now. (*ibid.*, pp. 272-275)

Lenin demanded that the methods of control from below be very varied, "in order repeatedly and tirelessly to weed out bureaucracy" (*ibid.*, p. 275). A decree signed by Lenin, Kalinin and Stalin was published on the 12th of April, 1919, on the reorganization of state control. It declared war on any type of bureaucracy, in whatever form it might appear. It called the drawing of the broad masses into the work of administration and control the precondition to "clean the Soviet institutions of bureaucratic sludge."

Whenever Lenin detected growing signs of bureaucracy he sounded alarm. In January, 1920, he wrote a letter to Tomsky about bureaucracy in the unions:

> I have never doubted that there is still very much bureaucracy in our Commissariats, in all of them.
>
> But I did not expect that there would be *no less* bureaucracy in the trade unions.
>
> This is the greatest disgrace. I very much ask you to read all these documents in the Communist group of the All-Russia C.C.T.U., and to work out *practical* measures for combating bureaucracy, red tape, idleness and helplessness. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 433)

A few days later, Lenin wrote to Stalin about the regulations of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and demanded that the entire working masses should be enlisted to participate in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, mentioning women in particular; control should be expanded, and workers and peasants from outside the Party be involved in the control of the state at the central level. Again and again, Lenin mobilized the workers and peasants to learn administration in practice, because "practice is a hundred times more important than all theory."

Lenin was particularly enraged when bureaucrats of the state apparatus abused their power and oppressed people who complained of irregularities. Lenin proceeded without mercy in such cases, as can be seen by the following telegram sent to the Executive Committee of the Novgorod Gubernia:

> Apparently, Bulatov has been arrested for complaining to me. I warn you that I shall have the chairmen of the Gubernia Executive Committee and Extraordinary Commission, and the members of the Executive Committee arrested for this and will insist on their being shot. Why did you not reply at once to my inquiry?
>
> *Lenin*
> Chairman, Council of People's Commissars
> (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 232)

It appears as though Lenin foresaw the approaching danger of a takeover by the bureaucrats in the Party, the state apparatus and the economy, and he sought to prevent this from the beginning by extremely drastic measures. Lenin employed such necessary measures only in particularly flagrant cases, however, to make an example. The reason why Lenin saw the key to the battle against bureaucracy in

mobilizing and enlisting the masses for administration and control was also because the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy had already penetrated the Party and state organs. After the seizure of power many petty-bourgeois elements had sneaked into the Party so that bureaucracy became a problem as early as 1921.

In his report at the Xth Party Congress (March, 1921), Lenin commented on the task of fighting against bureaucracy: "and it demands hundreds of thousands of men" (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 205). He explained that bureaucracy cannot be simply "abolished" — overcoming it is a long process. This struggle has to be fought tirelessly, while trying out new methods. He demanded that those bureaucrats who had sneaked into the Party be uncovered, exposed, and thrown out. Lenin wrote to Sokolov: "Bureaucrats are smart fellows, many scoundrels among them are extremely cunning. You won't catch them with your bare hands." (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 492)

In 1921, a purge of the Party was initiated by decision of the Central Committee. During the four years following the revolution — when it became clear who had won — many petty-bourgeois elements had penetrated the Party, particularly from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist- Revolutionaries. Lenin demanded that of those Mensheviks who had entered the Party after the beginning of the year 1918 only one percent should be left in the Party. And only under the condition that they had been scrutinized three or four times over, because:

> The Party must be purged of rascals, of bureaucratic, dishonest or wavering Communists, and of Mensheviks who have repainted their "facade" but who have remained Mensheviks at heart. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 41)

Thus, about 170,000 unreliable elements, about one fourth of all members, were expelled from the Party.

The bureaucracy had not died out, however. Many honest Communists could not cope with the bureaucratic experts. Lenin pointed out in a report to the Central Committee:

> Very often the bourgeois officials know the business better than our best Communists, who are invested with authority and have every opportunity, but who cannot make the slightest use of their rights and authority....
>
> It must be admitted, and we must not be afraid to admit, that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the responsible Communists are not in the jobs they are now fit for; that they are unable to perform their duties, and that they must sit down to learn. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 289 and 309)

Lenin revealed this weakness frankly, to show how dangerous it is when the bureaucrats make themselves "indispensable" through their special knowledge and embarrass the Communists. They might gradually come to dominate the state and Party apparatus this way. This was why Lenin, in 1923, encouraged the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to exert control resolutely and not let themselves be intimidated or shrink back:

> Let us hope that our new Workers' and Peasants' Inspection will abandon what the French call *pruderie*, which we may call ridiculous primness, or ridiculous swank, and which plays entirely into the hands of our Soviet and Party bureaucracy. Let it be said in parentheses that we have bureaucrats in our Party offices as well as in Soviet offices. (Lenin: "Better Fewer, but Better," in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 494)

Lenin could have no way of knowing that, about thirty years later, the bureaucracy, which originally was only a petty-bourgeois stratum, would seize state power and, as a new bourgeois ruling class, restore capitalism on a new basis. What he did realize very clearly at that time was the danger of a restoration of capitalism by the wavering petty-bourgeois elements, especially the bureaucracy; he pointed out in his speech at the Xth Party Congress "that in some respects the internal situation presents a greater danger than Denikin and Yudenich" (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 253).

In his draft resolution on the syndicalist and anarchist deviation he warned the Party and the working class of a restoration of capitalism, leaving no room for misunderstanding:

> In a country like Russia, the overwhelming preponderance of the petty-bourgeois element and the devastation, impoverishment, epidemics, crop failures, extreme want and hardship inevitably resulting from the war, engender particularly sharp vacillations in the temper of the petty-bourgeois and semi-proletarian masses. First they incline towards a strengthening of the alliance between these masses and the proletariat, and then towards bourgeois restoration. The experience of all revolutions in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries shows most clearly and convincingly that the only possible result of these vacillations — if the unity, strength and influence of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat is weakened in the slightest degree — will be the restoration of the power and property of the capitalists and landowners. (*ibid.*, p. 248)

Was this warning of Lenin's really taken seriously? Had the working class understood that the preservation of its power, the consolidation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat were at stake?

The Struggle under Stalin's Leadership against the Old and New Bureaucracy

After Lenin's death the struggle against bureaucracy inevitably took on more intense forms. Stalin had been elected General Secretary of the C.P.S.U. as early as 1922. He faithfully continued Lenin's work.

From the beginning, two types of bureaucracy developed. The first type was the old administrative bureaucracy of the former state machine, the industrial bureaucracy of the former capitalist factories and the bureaucratic intelligentsia of the educational institutions — in short: the bourgeois intellectuals and experts. They were linked to the capitalist system, being a leading petty-bourgeois stratum. After the October Revolution they adapted themselves more or less to the new situation, to Soviet authority. To utilize their expert knowledge for the building of socialism, to win them for an honest cooperation, they were highly paid (as we have seen above). Lenin was aware of the vacillating attitude of this petty-bourgeois stratum and also of the danger of a restoration of capitalism with the help of parts of these

elements; we know that he countered this with control by and through the masses.

Active Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries have to be considered part of this petty-bourgeois stratum, too, because they were ideologically and politically linked to capitalism. A great number of those unprincipled elements sneaked into the Bolshevik Party in order to undermine it. It is true that they were thrown out of the Bolshevik Party during the great purge in the year 1921, but they still had strong ties to capitalist elements inside and outside the country, especially to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. By means of their illegal organization these Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were often the liaison agents among the demoralizing capitalist elements.

At the same time another type of bureaucracy evolved inside the state, the economy and even the Party apparatus. These were the bureaucrats with a membership card of the Party in their pockets. We have seen above how surprised Lenin was when he discovered the bureaucracy inside the unions (purely workers' organizations). Power went to the heads of certain communists in the state and Party apparatus; they degenerated into bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy is a petty-bourgeois phenomenon. A bureaucrat longs for a petty-bourgeois way of life. He feels comfortable in a petty-bourgeois atmosphere. After a life full of hardships, not a few Party officials lapsed into a petty-bourgeois way of life at home among their families after they acquired a high office and authority. Quite gradually, a new bureaucracy grew up alongside the old bureaucracy that had been taken over out of necessity.

Stalin pointed out at the XVth Party Congress (December 1927)

> that we shall cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, and that we shall certainly perish if we fail to eradicate from our midst this philistinism, this family-circle method of settling highly important questions of our work of construction. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 10, p. 339)

At the beginning of 1928, a large organization of wreckers, made up of bourgeois experts, was discovered in the Shakhty rayon of the Donets basin, the most important Soviet industrial region. Over a

period of five years, these wreckers, closely allied with the former owners and foreign capitalists, had obstructed the building of industry by committing acts of sabotage. They were brought to justice in the Shakhty trial.

Stalin said at the April plenary session of the Central Committee:

> At one time there was military and political intervention, which we succeeded in liquidating by means of a victorious civil war. Now we have an attempt at economic intervention, for the liquidation of which we do not need civil war, but which we must liquidate all the same, and shall liquidate with all the means at our disposal. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 11, p. 58)

The Shakhty trial, on the one hand, exposed a great weakness in the development of control from below; on the other hand, it was indicative of an intensified class struggle. This intensification came to light not only in industry.

In the countryside, the Party initiated an offensive against the kulaks. Related to this offensive was the organizing of collective farming. In his "Reply to Collective-Farm Comrades" Stalin explained the principles of collectivization:

> Leninism teaches that the peasants must be brought to adopt collective farming voluntarily, by convincing them of the advantages of socially-conducted, collective farming over individual farming. Leninism teaches that the peasants can be convinced of the advantages of collective farming only if it is *demonstrated* and *proved* to them in actual fact and by experience that collective farming is better than individual farming, that it is more profitable than individual farming and that it offers both poor and middle peasant a way out of poverty and want. Leninism teaches that, without these conditions, collective farms cannot be stable. Leninism teaches that any attempt to impose collective farming by force, any attempt to establish collective farms by compulsion can only have adverse results, can only repel the peasants from the collective-farm movement. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 12, p. 210)

These principles were not always practiced, however. In 1930, collectivization took on such forms that Stalin was moved to publish his provocative article "Dizzy with Success," in which he pointed to

attempts to violate the principle of voluntariness in collectivization, even

> by threatening to use armed force, by threatening that peasants who are not yet ready to join the collective farms will be deprived of irrigation water and manufactured goods....
>
> Who benefits by these distortions, this bureaucratic decreeing of the collective-farm movement, these unworthy threats against the peasants? Nobody, except our enemies! (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 12, p. 201)

We can see here that bureaucracy was making itself at home in all areas of social life, aiming to undermine the foundations of socialism.

Although the Shakhty trial dealt the old bureaucracy a heavy blow, more wreckers took their place. Not a few members of the technical intelligentsia began to waver, and were encouraged by the Trotskyite-Menshevik opposition, which spread rumors like, "The Soviet Union won't last." In 1930 again, a new organization of wreckers (the "Industrial Party") was exposed; these counter-revolutionary elements belonged to the higher class of old technical intellectuals and were affiliated with foreign capital and the French general staff. The trial that was held at the end of 1930 broke the backbone of the old bureaucracy's organized resistance. Instead, the new bureaucracy came more and more to the fore. Stalin's speech at the VIIIth Congress of the Young Communist League in May 1928 was an alarming signal. He said among other things:

> The second question concerns the task of combating bureaucracy, of organizing mass criticism of our shortcomings, of organizing mass control from below.
>
> Bureaucracy is one of the worst enemies of our progress. It exists in all our organizations — Party, Young Communist League, trade-union and economic. When people talk of bureaucrats, they usually point to the old non-Party officials, who as a rule are depicted in our cartoons as men wearing spectacles.... That is not quite true, comrades. If it were only a question of the old bureaucrats, the fight against bureaucracy would be very easy. The trouble is that it is not a matter of the old bureaucrats. It is a matter of the new bureaucrats, bureaucrats who sympathize with the Soviet Government, and finally, communist bureaucrats. The communist bureaucrat is the most

dangerous type of bureaucrat. Why? Because he masks his bureaucracy with the title of Party member. And, unfortunately, we have quite a number of such communist bureaucrats. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 11, p. 75)

The development of the new bureaucracy was intensified by inner-Party controversies. Lenin had established the New Economic Policy in 1921, which elicited the resistance of oppositional elements in the C.P.S.U. led by Trotsky and Zinoviev. After Lenin's death the opportunists stepped up their struggle against the correct Party line. The opposition opposed rapid industrialization as well as systematic collectivization of agriculture. It was also unable to grasp the line of the Central Committee: to win the support of the poor peasants, to form an alliance with the middle peasants and to fight the rich peasants. The subversive activities of the Trotskyites and other opposition groups caused great difficulties to the Party, especially after 1928, when the Bukharin/Rykov group joined the opposition as the Party started an offensive against the kulaks. The escalation and expansion of the opposition's struggle forced the Central Committee to build up the Party apparatus considerably. This in turn provoked the determined resistance mainly of the Trotskyites.

First of all the Trotskyites attacked the Party apparatus. They knew that without a strong apparatus the Party could not live and function. The opposition tried to undermine and destroy the Party apparatus, to set the Party members against it, and the young members against the old stalwarts of the Party. (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]. Short Course.* Moscow, 1939)

But the necessary strengthening of the Party apparatus also increased the power of the bureaucracy. It penetrated all organs of socialist society, the state, Party and economic apparatus, the trade unions, youth organizations and also the military apparatus. In his report to the XVIth Party Congress Stalin showed the danger of bureaucracy and the measures to fight it:

The danger of bureaucracy lies, first of all, in that it keeps concealed the colossal reserves latent in the depths of our system and prevents them from being utilized, in that it strives to nullify the

creative initiative of the masses, ties it hand and foot with red tape and reduces every new undertaking by the Party to petty and useless trivialities. The danger of bureaucracy lies, secondly, in that it does not tolerate *the checking of fulfillment* and strives to convert the basic directives of the leading organizations into mere sheets of paper divorced from life. It is not only, and not so much, the old bureaucrats stranded in our institutions who constitute this danger; it is also, and particularly, the new bureaucrats, the Soviet bureaucrats; and the "Communist" bureaucrats are by no means the least among them. I have in mind those "Communists" who try to substitute bureaucratic orders and "decrees," in the potency of which they believe as in a fetish, for the creative initiative and independent activity of the vast masses of the working class and peasantry.

The task is to smash bureaucracy in our institutions and organizations, to get rid of bureaucratic "habits" and "customs" and to clear the way for utilizing the reserves of our social system, for developing the creative initiative and independent activity of the masses.

That is not an easy task. It cannot be carried out "in a trice." But it must be carried out at all costs if we really want to transform our country on the basis of socialism.

In the struggle against bureaucracy, the Party is working along four lines: that of developing *self-criticism*, that of organizing the *checking of fulfillment*, that of *purging* the apparatus and, lastly, that of *promoting* from below to posts in the apparatus devoted workers from those of working-class origin. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 337/338)

In 1937/38 bureaucracy assumed threatening proportions. This must be seen in connection with the worsening international situation. The Japanese had occupied North Eastern China, the Italians were conquering Abyssinia, the German and Italian fascists intervened in the Spanish Civil War — the danger of war became acute for the Soviet Union. In this situation, the Bukharin opposition and several bureaucratized military leaders formed an alliance to overthrow the Stalin government by force — for which they were brought before court. The revisionists later talked a lot about "persecution" to mask their extraordinary treachery. We have to put the question from a class point of view, however: which class or stratum was persecuted? Neither the working class nor the peasantry. Persecuted were the most dangerous bureaucratic elements in the Party and

state apparatus together with remnants of the exploiting classes and the bourgeois intelligentsia.

We have shown above that the new bureaucracy regarded as its ideal the petty-bourgeois way of life of the old bureaucrats, who could afford such a life because of their high pay and special privileges (villas, cars, shopping privileges etc.). This idealizing of a petty-bourgeois lifestyle was also reflected in a segment of contemporary literature and movies. Where has the former revolutionary literature gone? More and more, it was pushed aside by a petty-bourgeois literature, because the writers had no contact with the workers and peasants. Even a writer as dubious as Sholokhov, who in his main work, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, puts more emphasis on the White Guards than on the Red Guards, reported at the XXth Party Congress about his petty-bourgeois writer-comrades:

> What writer has ever visited any worker's family, as friend or close friend? Or the family of an engineer, a production innovator, or a factory Party official? You can count them on your fingers.... It is true that writers sometimes visit large enterprises as guests, or rather as touring performers, and — to our common shame — we must admit they sometimes have no qualms about taking a fee from the workers for their performances.... Why do 1,200 writers live in Moscow? Why is it that not even a tractor could drag them from their comfortable roosts? I find it difficult to answer the question.... So you are waiting for new books, comrades? Let me ask you: from whom? From those who know nothing at all about collective farmers or workers? From those who have been in hiding or lying around so long? (*XX. Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion* [20th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.], pp. 312/313. Our translation from the German - The Editors)

We can assume that Sholokhov knew his colleagues. Were those petty-bourgeois writers able to create a genuine proletarian literature? No! Moreover, the petty-bourgeois habits of the old bureaucrats rubbed off on the new ones. The new bureaucracy came to have two faces: in public, they appeared eager; they supported the Party line and praised Stalin out of all proportion. Inside their close family circles, in the realm of their petty-bourgeois way of life, they

clenched their fists against Stalin and cursed the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his novel *Trailblazers*, Soviet writer D. Granin concretely portrayed behavior and lifestyle of the new bureaucracy:

> Everything worked out fine. Administrative work appealed to Viktor. It was to his liking to give people instructions, to demand things, to push things through, to lead. The ambitious strain in him now caused him to move heaven and earth to become department head. "Now that I've chosen an administrative career," he said, "I have to get ahead faster if I don't want to get stuck." Viktor made it. He became department head. He was praised, was considered a capable manager. In activists' meetings he was held up as an example; he was mentioned in ministry circulars. Newspapers printed his articles. He was offered a large salary. They took a maid. Viktor had new friends now who came to visit him. Lisa listened with a naive vanity when they praised her husband's organizing abilities. This inflated his ego while she felt it was a good wind for the family ship. She sincerely supported Viktor's idea that administrative work was his true calling.
>
> He was an experienced engineer, knowledgeable too, and, in his view, the rest depended on the art of leadership. Dark rumors that he wouldn't tolerate talented people in his department and that he surrounded himself with bootlickers were only proof of the envy and spite of the people who had been passed over.
>
> He himself complained to her about the intrigues of his enviers, let her in on the tricks of dealing with superiors, and she no longer felt out of place or superfluous in his world.
>
> His home became the sanctuary he had longed for from the endless discussions and paperwork.
>
> Prosperity came, and with it immediately disappeared all the reasons for a lot of petty arguments.
>
> Viktor made many connections. "We're living in the age of electricity," he joked. A call from him sufficed to have hard-to-get overcoat fabric or fruit delivered to Lisa. During theater performances, they sat in the director's box.
>
> On Sundays they made the rounds of the antique shops, where Lisa was offered crystal at bargain prices from under the counter. She was happy not only with the purchases but also because it was a pleasure to Viktor to fulfill her wishes.

On Viktor's birthday they had a big dinner party in a restaurant. When you give a party then do it right! Viktor raised his glass, looked into Lisa's eyes, clinked glasses with her and suddenly laughed: "I didn't realize you have red-golden eyes!" She hid her cheeks with her hands. "And where is my birthmark?"

He raised his black eyebrows in a funny way and tried to remember. Between the tables, couples were swaying to the languishing melodies of the orchestra. Lisa soon became a little tipsy and smiled inanely. She felt so good in her pretty, stylish dress, and with the silver fox, and because she knew how pleasant all this was to Viktor, and how much everybody liked her and Viktor.

"Viktor Grigorievich, three years from now, you will be the boss of a head office," Ivin, the deputy director, said. He was slightly drunk. "I have an eye for things like that. How you can do it? With the help of good friends. They pave his way, he pulls them along...."

Viktor turned away from him, his head in his hands, and lapsed into reverie. "They pave... he pulls...," he murmured to himself.

All characteristics of the new bureaucracy with a Party membership card in its pockets are described here accurately:

1. Ambition and sense of power combine with careerism.
2. The rise to higher positions is accompanied by a higher standard of living and a petty-bourgeois life-style.
3. The higher position is defended against capable subordinates and secured by surrounding oneself with sycophants.
4. The higher position and greater influence are exploited to satisfy egoistic needs (furtherance of corruption).
5. The bureaucrats divide the most important posts amongst themselves according to the motto, "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours."

Here lie the roots of the subsequent usurpation of power by the new bureaucracy.

The rapid growth of the new bureaucracy in the Party, state and economic apparatus, in the unions and youth organization became the main obstacle to unified action of the revolutionary center and of the revolutionary masses of workers and peasants. Though Stalin fought an unrelenting struggle from above against bureaucracy, he but used the same apparatus against whose deformation he waged

his fight. Bureaucracy had even crept into the state security apparatus.

Today, from a historic point of view, we can see that this proceeding was an error by Stalin. In May of 1928 Stalin had come close to the right solution of the problem when he declared in his speech at the VIIIth Congress of the Young Communist League:

> How are we to put an end to bureaucracy in all these organizations?
>
> There is only one sole way of doing this, and that is to organize control from below, to organize criticism of the bureaucracy in our institutions, of their shortcomings and their mistakes, by the vast masses of the working class.
>
> I know that by rousing the fury of the masses of the working people against the bureaucratic distortions in our organizations, we sometimes have to tread on the toes of some of our comrades who have past services to their credit, but who are now suffering from the disease of bureaucracy. But ought this to stop our work of organizing control from below? I think that it ought not and must not. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 11, p. 77)

We know **today** that the solution of the problem is the proletarian cultural revolution, as it was carried out in an exemplary manner in China. Stalin was not yet able to make this discovery. His error was thus historically conditioned. It took the negative example of the total degeneration of the leading bureaucracy under Khrushchov, the revision of Marxism-Leninism, the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism to demonstrate the implacable necessity of conducting a proletarian cultural revolution to prevent such a development in good time. To have developed this revolutionary concept and put it into practice remains Mao Zedong's unparalleled and outstanding achievement.

It is understandable that during the Great Patriotic War the Party and the state had to unite all forces to beat the fascist invaders. This was impossible without making compromises with certain parts of the population, for instance religious people. Thus there were agreements with the Russian-Orthodox Church. Generals and other persons who had been imprisoned in labor camps were rehabilitated

and reinstated in their old ranks at the front. The people were filled with the will to sacrifice all for victory. They were vigilant against traitors and saboteurs. The bureaucracy, too, was thrown off its accustomed track. The moving of arms production and other vital industries (from the main industrial region west of the Volga to beyond the Ural mountains) deprived the bureaucracy of its previous connections. The new surroundings, the reconstructed, evacuated factories full of new people who, by their heroic initiative, restarted production after a very short time — all this was no favorable breeding-ground for bureaucracy.

After World War II, when the economy in the regions afflicted by the war had been reconstructed and was working normally, the danger of bureaucratization arose again. Malenkov, then Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., described in the report of the Central Committee to the XIXth Party Congress (October, 1952) the importance and necessity of combating bureaucracy, which was spreading again:

> The fact was that wartime conditions had demanded certain modifications in methods of Party leadership, and had also given rise to grave shortcomings in the work of the Party directing bodies and Party organizations. This was reflected first of all in the fact that the Party bodies had been giving less attention to organization and ideological work within the Party, with the result that in many of the Party organizations these activities were neglected. There was a certain danger of the Party bodies becoming severed from the masses and being transformed from organs of political leadership, from militant and self-acting organizations, into something in the nature of managing institutions, incapable of counteracting parochial, narrow-departmental and other anti-state tendencies, or of perceiving outright distortions of the Party's policy in the economic field and violations of the interests of the state.
>
> In order to eliminate this danger and successfully to cope with the task of strengthening the local Party directing bodies and stimulating the activities of the Party organizations, it was necessary to stop the neglect of organization and ideological work within the Party, and to put an end to such tendencies as the adoption by Party organizations of administrative methods of leadership, the effect of which was to lend a bureaucratic character to Party work and to dampen the activ-

ity and initiative of the Party masses. (G.M. Malenkov: *Report to the 19th Party Congress on the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, pp. 111 and 112)

Were the necessary conclusions drawn now, and were the members of the Party mobilized so that a broad struggle could unfold against the process of bureaucratization? Such a broad struggle was undoubtedly necessary, considering the methods which the bureaucracy applied. Malenkov described those methods concretely in his report:

> The importance of criticism and self-criticism in the life of the Party and the state is still not fully appreciated by some of our Party organizations. There are cases when people are persecuted and victimized for criticism. We still meet with responsible workers who never tire of professing their fidelity to the Party, but who actually cannot tolerate criticism from below, stifle it, and revenge themselves on those who criticize them. We know of plenty of cases when a bureaucratic attitude towards criticism and self-criticism has done serious damage to the Party, killed the initiative of a Party organization, undermined the prestige of the leadership among the Party masses, and infected some of the organizations with the anti-Party habits of bureaucrats, **sworn enemies of the Party.**
>
> The Party cannot close its eyes to the fact that wherever criticism and self-criticism are suppressed and control by the masses over the activities of organizations and institutions is weakened, there such ugly features as bureaucracy and degeneration, and even the corruption of individual sections of the Party apparatus, invariably appear. **Of course, such cases are not very prevalent.** (pp. 113 and 114; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Malenkov's last sentence shows that the danger of bureaucracy, which had been correctly described before, was underestimated. Instead of raising alarm, mobilizing the Party and union members, and launching a vigorous struggle against bureaucracy, there was a fateful tendency to neglect this struggle. Malenkov not only spoke of the danger of bureaucracy, but also of the need for waging a relentless struggle against it. Here some excerpts from his speech:

There are quite a number of executives who forget that the enterprises entrusted to their charge are state enterprises, and try to turn them into their own private domain....

Such "leaders" think that everything is allowed them, that they need not pay heed to state and Party rules, that they may break Soviet laws, and take any arbitrary action they please....

Deceiving the Party or state in any form whatsoever, any attempt at deceit, whether by concealing or by distorting the truth, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a severe offence against the Party....

Leaders who do not carry out decisions of Party and government conscientiously, who act lawlessly and arbitrarily, cannot expect to have any allowances made for them....

An implacable fight must be waged against clanship and mutual insurance coteries, and the bureaucratic attitude towards the study and selection of personnel must be stopped....

We must always remember that if the influence of socialist ideology is weakened the effect is to strengthen the influence of the bourgeois ideology.

There is no class basis, there can be no class basis, for the domination of the bourgeois ideology in our Soviet society. It is the socialist ideology that dominates in our country, and Marxism-Leninism constitutes its indestructible foundation. But we still have vestiges of the bourgeois ideology, relics of the private-property mentality and morality. These relics do not die away of themselves; they are very tenacious and may strengthen their hold, and a determined struggle must be waged against them. (*ibid.*, pp. 120, 121, 125-127)

It is incomprehensible how one can evaluate the danger of bureaucratic degeneration and the undermining of socialist ideology in an absolutely correct way and yet repeatedly underestimate the true situation. This is so much more remarkable because Malenkov himself declared:

in many fields of science, practices and traditions alien to the Soviet people have been uncovered, instances of caste exclusiveness and intolerance of criticism have been brought to light, and various manifestations of bourgeois ideology and all manner of vulgarizing distortions have been exposed and smashed. (Our translation from the German edition of Malenkov's report, p. 103 - The Editors)

These contradictions and inconsistencies had devastating results one year later, after Stalin's death. Malenkov, an honest communist, was ousted and put out of the way by Khrushchov, together with Molotov and other comrades who were true to socialism.

The Self-Transformation of Bureaucracy from Servants to Rulers of the State

Stalin's struggle against the distortions of bureaucracy was like Hercules' battle against Hydra, the nine-headed monster serpent of Greek mythology. Each head when cut off was replaced by two new ones. Most bureaucrats hid their true ideas and intentions. Others were particularly zealous in purging the Party and state apparatus; one of those was Khrushchov, who "purged" the Ukrainian Party and let himself be hailed as a "true disciple of Stalin" (May 23, 1938), as the "friend and comrade-in-arms of J. V. Stalin" (November 18, 1940), in the newspaper "WISTI WTs WK."

Stalin's death was the condition for the relatively free unfolding of bureaucracy. The bureaucracy took advantage of every opportunity to evade control from below, by the broad masses. At the same time, it worked to get rid of control from above by those Party and state leaders who stood by their principles and defended the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to achieve success for the egotistical endeavors of the greater part of bureaucracy to eliminate gradually the power of the workers and peasants, these elements did not shun any demagogy, slander, intrigue, or mean trick.

However, it was impossible for the unchained bureaucracy openly to declare its claim to power. The socioeconomic root of bureaucracy is the petty bourgeoisie. Satisfying the bureaucracy's craving for power means victory of a petty-bourgeois counterrevolution, about which Lenin said at the Xth Party Congress:

> We are passing through a period of grave danger: as I have said the petty-bourgeois counter-revolution is a greater danger than Denikin. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 194)

Since, by nature, bureaucracy concentrates itself in the center, the petty-bourgeois counterrevolution mainly took place here. That part

of the Party and government leadership that was loyal to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat (Malenkov, Molotov and others) still continued to openly resist the petty-bourgeois counterrevolution. Khrushchov took advantage of the bad situation in agriculture at the time to attack these comrades in a demagogic manner. His aim was to remove them from the top leadership and defame them as "enemies of the Party," which he succeeded in doing by 1957.

But that was not yet sufficient to destroy the foundations of socialism and usurp power. That was only possible with extraordinary measures which were characteristic of the individual stages of the petty-bourgeois counterrevolution. These stages are:

1. The great reputation enjoyed by Stalin among the Soviet people and the international communist movement, which had been enhanced even more by the grand victory in the Great Patriotic War, this outstanding reputation had to be destroyed, and the liberation of the bureaucracy from Stalin's control had to be portrayed as the liberation of the entire population from the "dictator" Stalin. This was achieved by two means:
   a) discrediting Stalin with the "struggle against personality cult,"
   b) denouncing Stalin by portraying his struggle against the enemies of the Party and the anti-working-class bureaucracy as the persecution of innocent victims and thus as a crime.
2. Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical foundation of the socialist Soviet Union and the working-class movement of the entire world, had to be revised and replaced by a revisionist theory:
   a) to destroy the socialist foundations in the Soviet Union;
   b) to split the communist world movement and put the revisionist camp under the leadership of the Soviet revisionists.
3. The economic foundations of socialism in the Soviet Union had to be destroyed and restoration of capitalism initiated through the introduction of capitalist laws. This was only possible:
   a) by abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and
   b) through the appropriation and joint exploitation of the means of production by the bureaucracy as a whole.

   In this process, bureaucracy transformed itself from a petty-bour-

geois stratum to a new bourgeois class whose economic base is a restored capitalist mode of production. This does not mean the simple restoration of private capital, but the establishment of a bureaucratic monopoly capitalism. The principal contradiction in this new capitalist society is based on social production on the one hand, and appropriation by the whole bureaucratic-capitalist class on the other. A bureaucrat is not a private capitalist in the old sense, but the bureaucracy in its entirety is the national capitalist, a new state-monopolist bourgeoisie. As the new bourgeois ruling class it pursues a bourgeois class policy in order to defend the overall interests of bureaucratic capitalism. This was a gradual development, with achievements of socialism still continuing to exist alongside the new capitalist phenomena. It was, of course, impossible to abolish them all at once without the working masses rebelling.

To successfully transform bureaucracy from servants of the state to rulers of society, with extraordinary demagogy bureaucracy disguised its counterrevolutionary steps as necessary measures to consolidate socialism, as creative advancement of Marxism-Leninism. It claimed the glorious tradition of the Bolshevik party for itself to sully the work of Lenin, Stalin and the Great October Revolution. Just listen to the phrase-mongering of a Brezhnev who, in his speech at a "joint jubilee meeting" in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, among other things said:

> Our Party has a great and eventful history, and if we have successfully traversed a long and difficult road and withstood all trials with honor it is above all due to the fact that we have always used our most reliable weapon, the Marxist-Leninist teaching, undeviatingly adhered to it and developed it further. [Only a hardened, degenerate bureaucrat could have the gall to assert this, seeing as these people have revised all essentials of Marxism-Leninism - The Editors.] And if our Party, the big tightly-knit family of Soviet Communists is today successfully coping with all problems, and if the Communists with honor fulfil their vanguard role in all matters whether big or small, it is because our Party has been reared in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and imbued with the ideas of this great teaching. For us Leninism has become in the true sense of the word the science of how to win, and such it will remain for ever.

These are the words of one of the leading revisionists, who trod all over Marxism-Leninism and set themselves up as bourgeois rulers over the Soviet people. The contradictory nature of petty-bourgeois bureaucracy shows itself here: on the one hand, they have to cover up behind pseudo-revolutionary phraseology and, at the same time, accuse true and upright Marxist-Leninists of dogmatism; on the other hand, they behave as the new bourgeois class, adopting a bourgeois way of life. But the powerful theory of Marxism-Leninism speaks their death sentence. That is why they had to revise it to be able to put their infamous scheme into practice. We shall reveal the extraordinary treachery of the revisionists in detail in the following chapters.

2. The Revisionist Coup d'Etat by Khrushchov and the Systematization of Revisionist Ideology

The XXth Party Congress and the Condemnation of Stalin by Khrushchov

The XXth Party Congress in February of 1956 was the starting point for a fundamental change in the socialist structure of the Soviet Union. It began with the coup d'etat by Khrushchov, who pushed himself to the fore since Stalin's death. This coup ushered in the rule of bureaucracy. In his **official report** to the XXth Party Congress, Khrushchov held back his criticism of Stalin. The bureaucracy under Khrushchov's leadership did not dare yet to put the condemnation of Stalin on the public agenda. How would the Soviet people react to something like that? So a secret session was called, at which Khrushchov, in an outrageous speech, labelled Stalin's great struggle against the enemies of the working class and of socialism, against the infamous activities of the bureaucracy, as nothing but persecution, arbitrariness, misuse of power, brutal oppression and physical liquidation of innocent people. He branded Stalin a criminal.

It is proof of Khrushchov's bad conscience that he did not dare make public his **secret report** to the Soviet people and to the members of the world's communist parties even after the XXth Party Con-

gress. Shortly after the XXth Party Congress, the American secret service published it, by way of the U.S. embassy in Bonn, in the magazine *Ostprobleme* ("Problems of the East"). We German communists came to know the text of the secret report only through a magazine for functionaries of the metal workers' union IG Metall, *Der Gewerkschafter*, No. 4, 1956. There can be no doubt of the authenticity of this publication because many statements made by Khrushchov later coincide with its contents. The question naturally arises: who passed on Khrushchov's "secret report" to the American secret service? Only the revisionists themselves could have been interested in this.

The entire anti-Stalin campaign was conducted under the pretext of a "struggle against personality cult." Those pathetic petty-bourgeois individuals who concentrated on nothing but their own inflated egos had an inferiority complex when confronted with Stalin's titanic personality. Khrushchov himself had no great personality; he substituted the cunning of a peasant (his revisionist cronies called him a braggart and castle-builder) for sound theoretical knowledge. How odd it is that Khrushchov, who initiated the "struggle against Stalin's personality cult," could not persist without his own Khrushchovian cult; he was overthrown eight years later by his immediate staff members, the creators of this cult, who used the same argument this time against Khrushchov. Ironically, not even bourgeois countries bought the revisionists' arguments. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* wrote in an article on October 22, 1964, right after Khrushchov's overthrow, about the revisionist leadership:

> Since the 21st of January, 1924, the day Lenin died, the Soviet Union was ruled — according to their own official statements — by a megalomaniac criminal (Stalin), a malicious intriguer (Malenkov), a low person who sowed disunity (Bulganin), and an unrealistic braggart (Khrushchov). But the line of the Party remained immaculately pure. The collectives were working smoothly. Too bad that the Party elected its own leaders.
>
> Do the new Soviet leaders realize that they cannot write Party history in this manner? If they do not want to make fools of themselves in the eyes of their fraternal parties and the international public, they will have to attribute a few abilities and achievements to

> their ousted leaders. Not even the "imperialist wolves" believe that the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union were ruled during the last forty years by nothing but criminals.

The revisionists Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, and others blamed Khrushchov for all failures during the previous ten years, not because they wanted to liquidate the revisionist policies developed under Khrushchov, but to continue and intensify them instead. Khrushchov had served his purpose; now his revisionist partners did not want to be embarrassed any longer by this charlatan. But they cannot relieve themselves of the responsibility for the revisionist treachery committed under Khrushchov.

Let us return to how it all started, to the secret speech by Khrushchov. Khrushchov was unscrupulous in slandering Stalin. It was an attack on Marxism-Leninism, a defamation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when he declared in his secret speech:

> This was the result of the abuse of power by Stalin, who began to use mass terror against the Party cadres....
>
> The mass repressions at this time were made under the slogan of a fight against the Trotskyites. Did the Trotskyites at this time actually constitute such a danger to our Party and to the Soviet State? ... Many former Trotskyites had changed their former views and worked in the various sectors building socialism.

We shall see later that this put-on naivety of Khrushchov was nothing but hypocrisy. He was quite aware that, after their admission to the Bolshevik Party, the Trotskyites had formed a faction and, together with other factionists (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and others), fought against Lenin's Party line. After its ideological defeat, Trotskyism transformed into a counterrevolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie. Its dangerousness lay in the artfulness with which it camouflaged its true counterrevolutionary aims. During the purge of 1937/38 the machinations of the Trotskyites were revealed. All this was well known to Khrushchov. Nevertheless he went on to assert in his secret speech:

> Stalin's report at the February-March Central Committee plenum in 1937, "Deficiencies of party work and methods for the liquidation

of the Troskyites and of other double dealers," contained an attempt at theoretical justification of the mass terror policy under the pretext that as we march forward toward socialism class war must allegedly sharpen.... This terror was actually directed not at the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes but against the honest workers of the party and of the Soviet state.... Everywhere and in everything he [Stalin] saw "enemies," "double dealers," and "spies." Possessing unlimited power, he indulged in great willfulness and choked a person morally and physically. A situation was created where one could not express one's own will.

Khrushchov talks of "provocateurs ... together with conscienceless careerists" who used Party interests to cover up those purges. Indeed, such careerists existed inside the state and Party bureaucracy. But Khrushchov himself is one of them. Or is this supposed to be an excuse for his own actions?

In 1937, Khrushchov was First Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee. In this function, he introduced a resolution which *Pravda* considered to be so important that it quoted it (May 31, 1937) in an editorial:

The Moscow Party Conference assures the Central Committee of the Party and our leader, teacher and friend, comrade Stalin, that we shall have no mercy with spies, subversive elements, and terrorists, who are raising their hands against the lives of the Soviet working people. We shall liquidate the spies and subversive elements, we shall not allow the enemies of the Soviet Union to survive. The enemies of the Soviet Union will pay for each proletarian drop of blood spilt with streams of blood of their own.

Notice, this was written by Khrushchov, not Stalin. Is this supposed to be Stalin's "personality cult"? But let us take a closer look at this innocent child, Khrushchov. A year later, he was sent to the Ukraine. What was his business there? The newspaper *Bilshovik Ukraini* (No. 7, 1938) reports:

It was not until the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union (B) sent the ardent Bolshevik and Stalinist, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov, to the Ukraine to head the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (B) that the unrelenting liqui-

dation of all enemies of the people, the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and all the other spying scum, began.

In his speech to the 14th Ukrainian Party Conference on July 5, 1938, Khrushchov called for vigilance:

> We got rid of a considerable number of enemies. But as Party functionaries of the Ukraine, and especially of the province of Kiev, we should not become complacent. We must not take a rest because the enemy will not either. Under no circumstances will they ever give up their subversive activities against our state. Comrades, we have destroyed some of the enemies, but not all of them by far. We must continue to be on our guard. We must not be lulled either by applause, or consent, or unanimous resolutions. We should always bear in mind what comrade Stalin said: as long as capitalist encirclement exists, subversives and spies will be sent into our country. We must always carefully heed these words of comrade Stalin ....
>
> Ours is a holy cause. He who stops halfway, whose hands tremble and whose knees become weak before he has destroyed ten enemies, he jeopardizes the revolution. It is a necessity that we fight the enemy without mercy. We will wipe everybody from the face of this earth who wants to attack the workers and peasants. For each drop of blood of an honest worker we shall shed a bucket of the enemy's black blood. (*Bilshovik Ukraini* No. 6, 1938)

Where does such a person take the pathetic courage to slander Stalin without accusing himself? The revisionists were in need of the criticism of the "personality cult" of Stalin to achieve their own egotistical objectives. They needed the criticism as a smoke screen to obscure their own evil schemes for usurping power. They needed it to get rid of the supporters of Stalin, the defenders of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They needed it to restore capitalism. That is the essence of their "struggle against the personality cult" of Stalin.

The new bureaucracy and the remnants of the exploiting classes and of a part of the bourgeois intelligentsia hated Stalin as the main obstacle to carrying out their dangerous plans. Innocent people certainly also were the objects of prosecution, for reasons not least of which is the wretchedness of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who harmed each other by mutual denunciation, slander, and false "con-

fessions," and many times accused honest and loyal people. General Gorbatov, who had been arrested and later rehabilitated by Stalin, tells in his book "The Beheaded Army" (later made into a movie in the Soviet Union) how the other prisoners tried to persuade him to "confess" just anything, which he refused scornfully. All those miserable creatures were, according to Khrushchov, "innocent victims" of Stalin.

But the revisionists did more than vilify Stalin's fight against the enemies of the working class. In their opportunism they rehabilitated all political prisoners, without legal review of their past, and enfranchised them. They speculated on the hurt feelings of these people and thus hoped to win their support for the revisionist politics. They had no scruples about granting general amnesty to all political bandits and class enemies.

With his secret speech Khrushchov provided the imperialists and all reactionaries dirty ammunition for their fight against communism and caused damage to the international communist movement which can hardly be repaired. It is not surprising that the Trotskyites capitalized on this. The Trotskyite "IVth International" claimed in a "Manifesto to the workers and peoples of the entire world":

> Today, when the Kremlin leaders are themselves admitting the crimes of Stalin, they implicitly recognize that the indefatigable struggle carried on ... by the world Trotskyist movement against the degeneration of the workers' state, was fully justified.

It was also grist for the mills of imperialist propaganda, because Khrushchov's condemnation of Stalin delivered, free of charge, an "affirmation" of the smear campaign which had been waged for decades against the Soviet state and especially Stalin. Revisionists, Trotskyites, and imperialists hand in hand — that was the result of undermining the Soviet Union from within.

We want to reprint here, too, an objective evaluation of Stalin's errors and merits by the Communist Party of China, which was published in the Second Comment on the "Open Letter" of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.:

> The Communist Party of China has invariably insisted on an overall, objective and scientific analysis of Stalin's merits and demerits by the method of historical materialism and the presentation of history as it actually occurred, and has opposed the subjective, crude and complete negation of Stalin by the method of historical idealism and the wilful distortion and alteration of history.
>
> The Communist Party of China has consistently held that Stalin did commit errors, which had their ideological as well as social and historical roots. It is necessary to criticize the errors Stalin actually committed, not those groundlessly attributed to him, and to do so from a correct stand and with correct methods. But we have consistently opposed improper criticism of Stalin, made from a wrong stand and with wrong methods....
>
> Stalin's merits and mistakes are matters of historical, objective reality. A comparison of the two shows that his merits outweighed his faults. He was primarily correct, and his faults were secondary. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, Peking, 1965. Reprint Red Star Press, London, 1976, pp. 119 and 121)

All communists should aspire to such objectivity. But the revisionists inside and outside the Soviet Union were and are not interested in this.

The Proclamation of the Revisionist Theory at the XXth Party Congress and Its Systematization up to the XXIInd Party Congress

The struggle against "Stalin's personality cult" was the first move of Khrushchov's coup d'etat. The second was the proclamation of the revision of Marxism-Leninism. This revision caused even greater damage than the condemnation of Stalin. Was it possible to put the new bureaucracy in power and restore capitalism without revising Marxism-Leninism? No! This was not possible without turning the theoretical foundations of the proletarian revolution into their opposite. To carry out the revisionist plans inside the Soviet Union, the heart of Marxism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, had to be removed. Was this possible without revising Marxism-Leninism? No! To carry out their revisionist foreign policy, the bureaucratic rulers had to rely on sections of the communist parties outside the Soviet Union. Was this possible if those parties remained revolutionary and

were guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism? No! This is why Marxism-Leninism had to be revised.

At the XXth Party Congress, the new bureaucracy proclaimed the revision of Marxism-Leninism in certain basic questions. Revisionism is a variation of bourgeois ideology. Its socioeconomic root is the petty bourgeoisie. Remnants of the old bourgeois intelligentsia and the capitalist class, with their habits from the old society, and a newly formed bourgeois intelligentsia, a new bureaucracy, which degenerated, took up a petty-bourgeois way of life and by this became corrupt — all of them together undermined the socialist foundations. The inherent inclination of the petty bourgeoisie always to reproduce capitalism had to become effective with the old and new bureaucracy; especially at the moment it was able to escape control by the masses and exercise state power. From that point on, the bureaucracy became the new bourgeois ruling class.

The unchained bureaucracy restored capitalism in a new form: bureaucratic monopoly capitalism, fused with the state apparatus, which does not rule out forms of private capitalism.

In the beginning, the restoration of capitalism took place imperceptibly, step by step. The door had to be opened wide for bourgeois ideology. The Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace, on peaceful coexistence, and on the road to socialism were revised at the XXth Party Congress to secure international understanding and collaboration. This was open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. Let us, for a better understanding, compare the Marxist-Leninist and the revisionist points of view. Shortly after the outbreak of World War I, Lenin wrote on the question of war and peace:

> War is no chance happening, no "sin" as is thought by Christian priests (who are no whit behind the opportunists in preaching patriotism, humanity and peace), but an inevitable stage of capitalism, just as legitimate a form of the *capitalist* way of life as peace is. (Lenin: "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International," in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 39)

War is a law of capitalism just like economic crises or the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism. War is not

contrary to the foundations of private property, but its inevitable result. This is why Lenin pointed out:

> Under capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics. (Lenin: "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe," in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 341)

War is the continuation of politics by other means. The fight for peace and for the prevention of an imperialist war is related to class struggle, though other strata of the population are drawn into the fight for peace for the purpose of building as broad a peace movement as possible. Even when war breaks out class struggle must not be given up; there must be no "domestic peace" in the countries at war, because the proletariat must take advantage of the difficulties of the bourgeoisie and their governments to prepare their overthrow. The World War I slogan was therefore to "convert the imperialist war into a civil war" (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 313). It means that the struggle for peace is the more effective the stronger the proletariat wages its class struggle against its own bourgeoisie. As Lenin teaches:

> Unless it is linked up with the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle for peace is merely a pacifist phrase of bourgeois who are either sentimental or are deceiving the people. (*ibid.*, p. 373)

This is the essential point of the revisionist position, which is contrary to Lenin's teachings. The revisionists separate the struggle for peace from proletarian class struggle and from the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. They have taken up the position of bourgeois pacificism, which opposes any war. According to revisionist "theory," a "tiny spark can cause a world conflagration." Therefore, Khrushchov tells us "'local' wars in our time are very dangerous." Since the national liberation wars of colonial peoples, revolutions and civil wars are also "local" wars — just wars in fact — the communist parties are supposed to give up revolution and armed struggle and take the "peaceful road to socialism." Because the Com-

munist Party of France had followed the revisionist line, the Algerian members of this party did not participate in the Algerian liberation struggle. Khrushchov declared to a correspondent of the French newspaper *Le Figaro* on March 19, 1958: "We do not want France to grow weaker, we want her to become still greater."

To further justify their wrong point of view the revisionists claim that wars are no longer inevitable today and that the capitalist law of imperialist war is no longer valid. At the XXth Party Congress Khrushchov declared:

> There is, of course, a Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. This precept was evolved at a time when 1) imperialism was an all-embracing world system, and 2) the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organized, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war....
>
> In that period this precept was absolutely correct. At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically. Now there is a world camp of socialism, which has become a mighty force. In this camp the peace forces find not only the moral, but also the material means to prevent aggression... [this refers to military power - The Editors].
>
> But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually do try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans. (N.S. Khrushchov, *Report of the Central Committee to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party*, Soviet News Booklet No. 4, London, 1956, p. 28)

Khrushchov's strong words did not prevent the U.S. imperialists from unleashing the war in Vietnam and spreading it all over Indochina. They did not deter Belgian monopoly capitalists from drowning the Congolese national liberation movement in blood in order to save their capital investments. They were no veto to Israeli-imperialist forces when they grabbed large Arab territories. The law that imperialist wars are inevitable is still valid today and will be valid as long as imperialism is not wiped out. In addition to this, the

revisionists split the socialist camp and thereby weakened the anti-imperialist front immensely.

Moreover, they split the revolutionary working-class movement and gave up the revolutionary struggle to prevent imperialist wars or to convert them into civil wars. For in the long run, the elimination of wars will be possible only by overthrowing the power of imperialism, which, in turn, can only be done by revolutionary action. This does not rule out that a broad and active peace movement, through mass action, **can prevent a particular war**, which the imperialists are about to start, and thereby **preserve peace for a particular period of time**. But such a peace movement cannot change the social system, it cannot eliminate the inevitability of wars. Only the proletariat can do that by overthrowing the imperialist system. This is why Stalin was right when he wrote in *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*:

> What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a *particular* war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a *particular* peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force — and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.
>
> To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism. (J.V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1972, p. 36)

The question of war and peace is related to peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. At the XXth Party Congress, Khrushchov referred to Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries and declared peaceful coexistence to be the general line of Soviet foreign policy. But Lenin's conception of peaceful coexistence is fundamentally different from the revisionists'. To Lenin, peaceful coexistence with the capitalists is a breathing spell between wars, for carrying

out socialist construction in a relatively quiet atmosphere while taking full advantage of conflicts in the imperialist camp. In his speech of November 21, 1920, "Our Foreign and Domestic Position and the Tasks of the Party," Lenin declared:

> We have made use of this divergence of imperialist interests all the time. We defeated the interventionists only because their interests divided them, thereby enhancing our strength and unity. This gave us a breathing-space and rendered impossible the complete victory of German imperialism at the time of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk....
>
> We have correctly appraised the intensity of the imperialist rivalry and have told ourselves that we must make systematic use of the dissension between them so as to hamper their struggle against us. Political dissension is already apparent in the relations between Britain and France. Today we can speak, not merely of a breathing-space, but of a real chance of a new and lengthy period of development. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 413)

Lenin regarded trade relations with capitalist countries and economic concessions to capitalists as the most important methods to carry out this policy. When concessions were granted, the interests of different capitalists were played off against each other. Politics was in command. The economic interests of the Soviet Union were dictated by the necessity of rapidly building socialism. By supplying the urgently needed means of production, the capitalists were being useful to the Soviet state. Lenin frankly admitted:

> It is with the motive of extra profit that we must attract the capitalist. He will get surplus profit — well, let him have that surplus profit; we shall obtain the fundamentals that will help strengthen us; we shall stand firmly on our own feet, and shall win in the economic field. (Lenin: "Report on Concessions," in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 480)

Lenin had no illusions that peaceful coexistence was anything but a breathing space, or that it meant lasting peace between capitalism and socialism. Rather, a new stage of war had begun, an economic war, in fact, which, however, was advantageous for building socialism. He constantly warned about trusting capitalists when agreements were made with them, because, as Lenin said:

> It would be grossly mistaken to think that a peaceful agreement on concessions is a peaceful agreement with capitalists. It is an agreement concerning war, but an agreement that is less dangerous to us, besides being less burdensome for the workers and peasants, less burdensome than at the time when the best tanks and guns were being thrown into action against us; we must therefore use all methods, and, at the cost of economic concessions, develop our economic forces and facilitate our economic rehabilitation. (*ibid.*, p. 484)

In another speech, Lenin pointed out that trade agreements and concessions bind the capitalists in a way and discourage them from waging war against the Soviet Union for a certain period.

This is some respite from war. The capitalists will seek pretexts for going to war. If they accept our proposal and agree to concessions, that will be harder for them," Lenin said at a meeting of activists on December 6, 1920 (*ibid.*, p. 457). This is why Lenin never restricted the foreign policy of the Soviet Union to a policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalists. On the contrary, he counteracted the imperialists' desire for war with proletarian internationalism; he gave a pledge to all exploited and oppressed peoples that the Soviet Union would sincerely support the class struggle of the workers all over the world for the defeat of the capitalists, and support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. Therefore, the general line of Soviet foreign policy was oriented towards proletarian internationalism and not towards peaceful coexistence with the capitalists.

The revisionists, on the other hand, assume that the character of imperialism and of class struggle has changed. Thus, at the XXth Party Congress, Khrushchov proclaimed friendship and cooperation with the capitalist countries, especially the U.S.A. We quote from his report:

> We want **to be friends with the United States and to cooperate** with it for peace and international security [the U.S.A. gave Khrushchov an imperialist answer with their invasion of Vietnam, and with this arch enemy of the peoples Khrushchov wants friendship and cooperation - The Editors] and also in the economic and cultural spheres. We propose this with good intentions, without holding a knife behind our back....

> Our country's interest in the safeguarding of lasting peace and security in Europe is not a transitory one. It creates a reliable foundation for mutual understanding and cooperation, for the development of trade and all-round ties between the U.S.S.R., Britain and France. (N.S. Khrushchov, *Report of the Central Committee to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party*, pp. 24 and 25)

To prevent anyone assuming that peaceful coexistence was just a tactic to take advantage of conflicts among the imperialists, Khrushchov stressed:

> It has been alleged that the Soviet Union puts forward the principle of peaceful coexistence merely out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence [albeit under Lenin with a different political content - The Editors]. Hence, it is not a tactical move, but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy.... [The basic principle of socialist foreign policy must be proletarian internationalism - The Editors.]
>
> We believe that countries with differing social systems can do more than exist side by side. It is necessary to proceed further, to improve relations, strengthen confidence [in capitalism? - The Editors] between countries, and cooperate. [Cooperation with capitalism precludes proletarian internationalism, which does not mean that there cannot be certain temporary agreements between socialist and capitalist countries - The Editors.] (*ibid.*, pp. 26 and 27)

"Confidence and cooperation" mean to allow imperialism a free hand to go on oppressing and exploiting the former colonial peoples. "Confidence and cooperation" mean to deny the class struggle of the working class for the overthrow of the ruling class or, at best, limit it to struggle for reforms inside the capitalist system. "Confidence and cooperation" moreover mean preaching a peaceful road to socialism and repudiating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the essence of the revisionists' peaceful coexistence with the capitalists.

This leads us to the next revision of Marxism-Leninism at the XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. Khrushchov and especially Suslov dug up and modernized the antiquated anti-Marxist theory of the old Second International revisionists, the theory of peaceful growth of

capitalism into socialism. Suslov, looked upon as the leading revisionist theoretician of the C.P.S.U., declared:

> On the other hand, in those capitalist countries where the reactionary forces and the military and police machine are less powerful [what country is that supposed to be? - The Editors], the possibility of a peaceful course of the revolution and resultant transition to socialism is not to be ruled out. In particular, the possibility is not to be ruled out of the working class peacefully coming to power through a parliamentary majority and the conversion of parliament into a genuine people's assembly. Such a parliament, relying on the support of the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the working peasantry and all progressive sections of the population, would be able to break the resistance of the reactionary forces [possibly through parliamentary resolutions? - The Editors] and carry out the socialist transformation of society. (Speech by M.A. Suslov at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Soviet News Booklet No. 9, London, 1956)

We have already refuted this false theory in REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG No. 2, *Der Weg zum Sozialismus* ("The Road to Socialism"), and quoted the opinion expressed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin on this fundamental question. Marx had pointed out that the particular situation of the seventies of the previous century presented the possibility of a peaceful road to socialism. But the conditions had changed, at the latest, when capitalism transformed into monopoly capitalism and imperialism, when the power instruments of the ruling class had grown so enormously that a peaceful transition became infeasible. In 1917, Lenin put up the basic conditions for a peaceful transition: firstly, the working class is armed; secondly, the bourgeoisie is unarmed. If these two conditions are not met, there can be no peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. This is of no interest to the revisionists, however. In their "Theses," the leaders of the DKP ("German Communist Party" - The Editors) propose a special road to socialism, through interposing an intermediate stage, the so-called antimonopolistic democracy. Thesis 10 goes as follows:

> Based on the present-day conditions of class struggle, the DKP assumes that the road to socialism in our country will lead via the struggle of the working class and the other democratic forces to push

> back and eventually overcome the power of monopoly capital, by achieving and developing an antimonopolistic democracy. The DKP aspires to this transformation on the basis of democratic principles and rights laid down in the German constitution.

Monopoly capital is merged with the state apparatus. It is in command of the entire state power (the police, the military, the border guards, the judiciary, the administrative machine, the secret services, prisons, and so on). To suppose that the monopoly capitalists would exercise polite restraint and let their power machine stand at ease while the working class begins to "push back" and finally "overcome" monopoly power, is not only incredibly foolish, but an outright betrayal of the working class. The monopoly capitalists and their state will ruthlessly use their gigantic power against the proletariat.

History teaches this. "Bloodhound" Noske, the struggles on the Ruhr and in central Germany, the "Bloody May Day" of 1929, the Nazi concentration camps, Adenauer's terror against communists and patriots alike — all this is sufficient proof that it is no stroll from bourgeois dictatorship to socialism. The members of the DKP do not believe in the success of such a revisionist political line either, which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. This "transformation" is even supposed to take place on the basis of the constitution of the very same monopoly capital. Only unrealistic dreamers can believe this. Stalin said:

> To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the rule of the bourgeoisie, means that one has either gone out of one's mind and lost normal human understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the proletarian revolution. (Stalin: "Concerning Questions of Leninism," in: *Works*, Vol. 8, p. 25)

If the working class has gained enough strength through revolutionary mass action to "push back" the power of monopoly capital, then it will also have the strength to smash that power. The leaders of the DKP speak, on the contrary, of a "democratic rebirth of state and society," of an "antimonopolistic democracy." What democracy,

what state is this, really? They can only mean bourgeois democracy, a system of capitalist rule. The capitalist social order is not touched. This means that the DKP leaders do not in fact desire socialism, but only reforms in the framework of the capitalist social order. They consequently claim in Thesis 11: "the struggle for reforms can gradually change the balance of power in favor of the democratic forces."

The political foundation of the DKP is revisionism, revision of Marxism-Leninism in a modern disguise. The DKP leaders have taken over the part played by the SPD (Social Democratic Party - The Editors) during the twenties. How is this possible? The XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. was the starting point of modern revisionism, which was taken over by the leading bodies of most communist parties. It shows unbelievable demagogy when Suslov, one of the major whips of modern revisionism, declared in a speech at the Party Congress that C.P.S.U. revisionism is a "further development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of its bedrock principles, in uncompromising struggle against all attempts to revise these principles." (Speech by M.A. Suslov at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Soviet News Booklet No. 9) This can only be branded as deceit and boundless treachery.

An article in the official German-language magazine *Sowjetunion heute*, dated March 16, 1965, entitled "Marxism negates violence," shows the impudence with which the revisionists twist Marx's and Lenin's views:

> Marx already, and after him Lenin, foresaw the possibility of a peaceful taking of power by the working masses. They predicted that a situation could arise in which the private owners of the means of production would gain more by consenting to the acquisition of this property by the socialist state; while, on the other hand, the followers of socialism would gain more by paying them a reasonable compensation.

The author had every reason not to sign this article with his name, because it takes an extraordinary lack of scruples to lay at the door of Marx and Lenin the idea of replacing the social revolution by horse trading between capitalists and communists.

3. The Revisionist Fraud of the "State of the Whole People" and the Abolition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Differences between the Epochs of Socialism and Communism

The theory of Marxism-Leninism summarizes the experience of the international working-class movement. Theory is correctly applied to revolutionary practice by the dialectical method. Stalin writes in "Dialectical and Historical Materialism":

> It is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of the dialectical method to the study of social life and the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the practical activities of the party of the proletariat. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, p. 841)

To apply Marxist-Leninist theory and develop it in the course, three points must be observed:

a) The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism remain unshakeable.

"However, the basic principles of Marxism must never be violated, otherwise mistakes will be made," Mao Zedong warned (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 434).

Revisionists and opportunists of all shades violate the foundations and principles of Marxism-Leninism. They negate them. All we have to do is look at the revisionist "Theses" of the DKP to see how they violate the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They deny the principle of revolutionary overthrow of monopoly capital and replace it by the empty phrase of "pushing back" the power of monopoly capital. This is supposed to happen on a "peaceful road to socialism." For this reason they negate proletarian revolution. According to their "Theses," the DKP's aim is no longer the dictatorship of the proletariat, but some "antimonopolistic democracy" in the framework of the capitalist social order. Therefore, they deny all forms of revolutionary struggle and limit the struggle to obtaining reforms. The DKP wants to abolish the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and re-

place them with revisionism. Mao Zedong declared in his "Speech at the Party National Conference on Propaganda Work":

> It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism and to negate its universal truth.... What they [the revisionists - The Editors] advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line. (*ibid.*, pp. 434/435)

b) Marxism-Leninism must advance.

This means that many questions and problems of past periods have to be analyzed anew, and the theses, demands, and slogans which were justified then must be looked upon as outdated today and adjusted to the new situation. This is why Mao Zedong demanded:

> Marxism must necessarily advance; it must develop along with practice and cannot stand still. It would become lifeless if it were stagnant and stereotyped. (*ibid.*, p. 434)

It is wrong, for example, to apply historic events and methods of struggle in a schematic manner to the struggle today, as the ultra-leftists do. This is true, also, for the theses put up by the classics of Marxism for a particular situation existing in their time. In his answer to Rasin on February 23, 1946, Stalin consequently emphasized:

> One cannot make progress and further science without a critical analysis of the antiquated theories of well known authorities. This applies not only to the authorities in war theory but also to the Marxist classics. (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 16, Red Star Press edition, London, 1986, p. 94)

The revisionists claim in support of their false theory of "peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism" that Marx had spoken in the seventies of the previous century of the possibility of a peaceful road to socialism, at least in England and America. They claim that Lenin looked upon it as feasible for Russia, too, in 1917. We proved in Revolutionärer Weg No. 2 that already Engels regarded the possibility which Marx had pointed out as passé; for Lenin the possibility of a peaceful road, which had existed from February until July of 1917

because of dual power, had passed with the reactionary coup of July 4. This is definite. Nevertheless, the revisionists take the analysis of that past situation, valid under certain historic conditions, and apply it to today. They accuse the defenders of the principles of Marxism-Leninism of dogmatism, but they themselves regard Marxism-Leninism as something ossified. They are therefore metaphysicists and dogmatists, revisionists and reformists at the same time.

c) Marxism-Leninism develops not only in dealing with today's problems, but, taking the growing needs of society as starting point, encompasses future problems and works out the foundations for their solution.

Because of given historic conditions, Marx and Engels assumed the simultaneous victory of proletarian revolution in all countries. Engels wrote in 1847 in *Principles of Communism*:

> Large-scale industry, already by creating the world market, has so linked up all the peoples of the earth, and especially the civilized peoples, that each people is dependent on what happens to another. Further, large-scale industry has levelled the social development of all civilized countries so much that in all these countries the bourgeoisie and proletariat have become the decisive two classes of society, and the struggle between them has become the main struggle of the day. The communist revolution, therefore, will be not only a national one; it will take place in all civilized countries, that is, at least simultaneously in England, America, France and Germany. (Marx/Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 91)

Based on the assumption at that time of a simultaneous victory of proletarian revolution, Marx and Engels concluded there would be a single stage in the building of communism. For if proletarian revolution spreads to all capitalist countries simultaneously, the further progress to classless society will also be a simultaneous process. In 1875, in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx for the first time spoke of two phases of communism:

> But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. (Marx/Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 19)

Lenin developed Marx's idea further. He proved that it had become impossible to carry out the proletarian revolution simultaneously because capitalism had grown into imperialism and the development of the capitalist countries was uneven. Lenin advanced the thesis of the victory of socialism in one or several capitalist countries. This was significant because the victory and the building of socialism in one country have to take place in a capitalist environment, i. e., struggling against the remnants of capitalism and feudalism inside the country and, at the same time, against the capitalist surroundings. From this follows in cogent necessity the building of communism in two phases.

> Until the "higher" phase of communism arrives, the socialists demand the *strictest* control by society *and by the state* over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption; but this control must *start* with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the establishment of the workers' control over the capitalists, and must be exercised not by a state of bureaucrats, but by a state of *armed workers.* (Lenin: *The State and Revolution,* in: *Collected Works,* Vol. 25, pp. 474/475)

The question of the development of the two phases of communism is of great significance. It plays a decisive role in the controversy with the revisionists. The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union used a demagogic trick in claiming that the reason for abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat was the alleged transition from the first to the second phase of communism. The revisionist leaders declared that in the Soviet Union the first phase of communism, the building of socialism, had been completed, and that the second phase, the building of communism, was now beginning. The dictatorship of the proletariat as the state form of socialism was thus no longer needed. In the phase of building communism it would have to be replaced by a "state of the whole people." Actually, this was designed to legalize the power of the bureaucracy, which had taken the capitalist road; to legalize the rule of the new bourgeoisie. To analyze and refute the revisionist arguments on this point we want to begin by showing the differences between the two phases of communism, between socialism and communism. These differences are:

1. There are two forms of social ownership in socialism; on the one hand, state-ownership, which is common ownership by the whole people, and on the other hand, collective ownership, which is ownership by cooperatives. In communism, there will be only one single form of social ownership, however. In the Soviet Union, progressing from socialism to communism should be characterized by advancement of agricultural cooperatives (the artels) and perfection of the state-owned machine and tractor stations (MTS), which systematically supplied the cooperatives with machinery needed for farming. The communes are even higher forms of agricultural collectives, but they require an even higher technology. At the XVIIth Party Congress Stalin said:

> The future communes will arise out of developed and prosperous artels.... The future commune will arise on the basis of a more developed technique and of a more developed artel, on the basis of an abundance of products.... The transition from the artel to the future commune must proceed gradually, to the extent that *all* the collective farmers become convinced that such a transition is necessary. (Stalin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 360/361)

Instead of promoting this development, the revisionists, for instance in Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, abolished most of the agricultural collectives and transformed them into private farms again. In the Soviet Union, they dissolved the MTS and sold the machinery to the collectives. By this an important link for resolving the contradiction between the workers and the peasants was destroyed, for the MTS as state property play a decisive role in advancing the collectives in the countryside.

2. In socialism, there still exist the contradictions between town and country, between physical and mental labor, though not in the form of the former capitalist society, in which the villages were exploited by the towns. For instance in the Federal Republic of Germany, during the last twenty years about 3.5 million people had to leave their villages. One million small farmers will be confronted with ruin during the next ten years. Capitalist exploitation of the countryside has been the cause of economic backwardness in the villages, which is connected with poverty, misery, and lack of cul-

ture, and which will increasingly disappear in socialism as the productive forces and socialist culture are developed. By these measures, the antithesis between town and country will gradually be abolished. In the phase of socialism, bourgeois right continues to have influence. Only in communism will the remnants of bourgeois law, will all forms of division of labor between town and country, between physical and mental labor disappear through the ever higher development of production; for in accordance with the growth and change of the forces of production, the relations of production will change and advance, too. This will have a major effect on abolishing the contradiction between town and country and between physical and mental labor. The people's cultural and technical standard will be raised to the standard of engineers and technicians.

3. All class distinctions will disappear in communism, but not in socialism. Lenin taught in *A Great Beginning*:

> the dictatorship of the proletariat is *also* a period of class struggle, which is inevitable as long as classes have not been abolished, and which changes in form, being particularly fierce and particularly peculiar in the period immediately following the overthrow of capital. The proletariat does not cease the class struggle after it has captured political power, but continues it until classes are abolished — of course, under different circumstances, in different form and by different means. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420)

In socialism, besides remnants of the bourgeois class and the class of landlords, there still exist class distinctions between workers and peasants and between these two classes and the intelligentsia. They are based on the two forms of ownership in socialism, on the contradiction between town and country and between physical and mental labor. Only by abolishing these contradictions and by creating one single form of ownership will class distinctions disappear as the classes themselves wither.

Mao Zedong teaches us to pay attention to the two kinds of contradictions: contradictions between the people and the enemy, and contradictions among the people. In socialism, both kinds still exist, and both kinds will continue to exist as long as capitalism exists in

the world. This is why Lenin warned of a restoration of capitalism in his polemic *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*:

> The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* turns into *attempts* at restoration. After their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters — who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it — throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the "paradise," of which they were deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the "common herd" is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to "common" labor...). (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 254)

In this intensified class struggle, the capitalists used every means available (military, economic, and ideological; terror, sabotage, bribery and subversion). Lenin's and Stalin's struggle against the bureaucracy was also an expression of this intensified class struggle. After Stalin's death, the bureaucracy became the new bourgeoisie by usurping power and initiating the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. A class struggle on a new basis emerged. The building of socialism was interrupted, and Soviet society reverted to capitalism of a new type.

4. Socialism differs from communism by its lower principle of distribution.

a) The socialist principle of distribution is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It means the right to work as well as the obligation to work — he who does not work, neither shall he eat. Each receives in proportion to the labor he supplies. The socialist principle of work is fundamentally different from the capitalist. The capitalist principle of work is associated with intensified exploitation of labor. Piece work and bonus systems as material incentives, together with whiplash methods and threats of layoffs, serve to make people slave. The socialist principle of work means advancing socialist consciousness, creating advanced technology and improving organization. Zhdanov declared in a report: "The

mental resources of our people are no less significant than the material resources."

But socialist consciousness requires socialist education and instruction of the masses. Consequently, the ideological and cultural education of the masses, the communist education of the people in a socialist society, acquires decisive importance. Socialist consciousness is born in the struggle with the old bourgeois ideology, which has strong roots in the masses for a long time because of the influence of capitalist propaganda and the habits and traditions in people's lives — even though the material base of society has been changed. As long as the socialist consciousness of the masses has not completely matured, the socialist principle of work, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," will remain in effect. Only when the motivation to work is free of egotistical motives, such as personal material gain, and is regarded as a matter of dedication to the communist cause, as one's honor, as a creative activity, as the prime want of a new mankind — only then has the mental foundation of the communist phase of society been attained. The higher the ideological level of communist education, the faster socialist society will advance to communism. Molotov therefore stressed at the XVIIIth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. that "the most important thing in our country is now the conscious communist attitude towards work."

b) The mental transformation of the people in socialist society goes hand in hand with the changing of the economic base by comprehensive mechanization and improved organization of work and automation of production. This is the material condition for the transition of socialism to communism. It is also the basis for the continuous growth of personal needs in proportion to the growing wealth of society. This was meant by Stalin when he declared at the XVIIth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.:

> Socialism can be built only on the basis of a vigorous growth of the productive forces of society; on the basis of an abundance of produce and goods; on the basis of the prosperity of the working people, on the basis of a vigorous growth of culture. For socialism, Marxist socialism, means not the reduction of individual requirements, but their

> development to the utmost, to full bloom; not the restriction of these requirements or a refusal to satisfy them, but the full and all-round satisfaction of all the requirements of culturally developed working people. (Stalin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 367)

When the mental and material conditions for the transition to the communist phase have matured, then society will proceed to the communist principle of distribution: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Then the remnants of bourgeois right, the inequality which still existed in socialism will disappear. Marx wrote in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*:

> In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs! (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 19)

This is a very long process, hampered not only by interior difficulties, but also by the surrounding capitalist world. The Soviet people were confronted with a gigantic task in building socialism, because two devastating wars were inflicted on the Soviet Union, causing unbelievable damage and destroying large sections of the economy. We must also remember that czarist Russia suffered economic and cultural (illiteracy) backwardness for centuries. In 1913, Russian industry produced per capita 4.76 percent of the commodities produced in the United States of America, or 7.1 percent compared to England. To the economic were added political difficulties, caused by capitalist elements inside the country who had connections to capitalist countries. From without, capitalism not only exercised military and economic influence through intervention and sabotage, but — particularly after the Soviet state had consolidated — also ideological and cultural influence through penetration of bourgeois ideology. Infiltration of bourgeois ideology is facilitated by the use of modern

mass media (radio and television), which no borders can hinder. All these difficulties prolong the period of building socialism. Neither the material nor the ideological prerequisites for the transition from socialism to communism existed at the time the revisionists took power. This means that the conditions for this transition first have to be met; conditions about which Stalin said at the XVIIIth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.:

> Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumer goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of communism to its second phase. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, p. 896)

This was neither the case then nor at the time of the XXIInd Party Congress, when the foundations of socialism had already been shaken or rather demolished by the revisionists.

The Revisionists Proclaim the Transition to the Higher Phase of Communism and the "State of the Whole People"

At the XXIInd Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. (October 1961), the revisionist theories were given the final touch by the proclamation of the "state of the whole people."

To explain the new party programme of the C.P.S.U. (a thoroughly revisionist programme), Khrushchov declared:

> "The elimination of distinctions between classes, now under way, makes for even greater homogeneity of society...." And he concluded: "The State of the whole people is a new stage in the development of the Socialist State, an all-important phase on the road from Socialist Statehood to Communist public self-government." (Report on the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union delivered to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U by N. S. Khrushchov. Soviet Booklet No. 81, London, 1961)

Izvestiya of May 17, 1964, called this "an advancement and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state" and the historic merit of Khrushchov. It went on:

> Only a creative Marxist-Leninist Party could have revealed the intricate dialectics of the development of the socialist state when it convincingly proved the objective law-based nature and **inevitability** [emphasis added by us - The Editors] of the transition from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the state of the whole people, which in turn will gradually grow into the communist self-government of society.

The "state of the whole people" of the Soviet revisionist clique is not at all a new invention. Looking through the moth-eaten theories of the old revisionists, they also dug up the "people's state." In 1875, the two existing German working-class parties united and adopted the "Gotha Programme." Marx and Engels condemned this programme because of its opportunism, among other things for the formula "people's state," or "free state." Engels sent a letter to Bebel with his criticism, writing:

The "people's state" has been thrown in our faces by the Anarchists to the point of disgust, although already Marx's book against Proudhon and later the *Communist Manifesto* directly declare that with the introduction of the socialist order of society the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 34)

This is clear and unequivocal. Every state is tied to class rule. "The state is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms" (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*, in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 392). It is an instrument of one class to suppress another, an instrument of power of the ruling class. What is relevant is the class content of the state, not the state form. Capitalism utilizes bourgeois republics as well as monarchies as systems of rule, bourgeois democracy as well as fascism, parliamentarism as well as military dictatorship. Whatever system of rule is used, in all cases the ruling

capitalist class uses it as an instrument of oppression. The working class, which has crushed the power of capitalism and won political power for itself, sets up its own state: the dictatorship of the proletariat. This state implies not only dictatorship — the suppression of the elements hostile to the formerly oppressed and exploited classes. It also implies the broadest democracy for the working people, the formerly oppressed and exploited. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat is identical with proletarian or socialist democracy. It is *"a million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy" (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 248).

The modern revisionists have renounced the class content of the socialist state and turn it into a "state of the whole people." This renunciation of the proletarian content comes out, among other things, in the quoted *Izvestiya* article when it claims that with the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "proletarian democracy also transforms into the socialist democracy of the whole people."

The Communist Party of China had strongly opposed the revisionist distortion of Marxism-Leninism by the leading Soviet revisionists. When the revisionists realized they had been exposed, they had a fit. Especially Suslov turned to distortion and slander in his polemic. In a notorious report to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of February 14, 1964, he defended the anti-Marxist thesis of the "people's state" and the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

> The Chinese leaders maintain stubbornly that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be preserved "until the entry into the highest stage of communist society." In doing so they refer to a quotation from Karl Marx, which says that "between the capitalist and communist societies lies a period of the revolutionary transformation of the first into the second. This period conforms also to the political transitional period, and the state of this period cannot be anything but a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*).
>
> This quotation, snatched out of the context of Marx's exposition, is being exploited as the theoretical basis for "the criticism" of the C.P.S.U. programme.

> But the Chinese leaders have clipped Marx's exposition, and do not quote the next two lines from the same work by Marx, which says with respect to the Gotha Programme: "But the programme does not concern itself with either this last [that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat - M.S.] or the future statehood in communist society." To follow the logic of the Chinese theorists, Marx should be declared an anti-Marxist for saying this.

This is foul demagogy. Why does Suslov — if he is going to act the custodian of Marx's complete idea — withhold the previous section of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* in which Marx clearly disavows the "people's state"? Marx wrote:

> The question then arises: what transformation will the state undergo in communist society? In other words, what social functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to present state functions? This question can only be answered scientifically, and **one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousandfold combination of the word people with the word state.** (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 26; emphasis added by us - The Editors.)

Here Marx clearly says that in the period of building communism the form of the state will be no "people's state." While he strongly opposes the "people's state," he leaves the question open ("this question can only be answered scientifically..."). Lenin starts from the Marx quotation above in *The State and Revolution* and writes:

> After thus ridiculing all talk about a "people's state," Marx formulated the question and gave warning, as it were, that those seeking a scientific answer to it should use only firmly-established scientific data. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 464)

It is therefore the likes of Suslov who revise Marx. Not the people can abolish the classes with the help of the "people's state" — this can only be accomplished by the working class, the most progressive class, which alone can change society fundamentally. For this purpose it makes use of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It thus carries out its last act as class and sovereign of state: class and state also wither away. So the dictatorship of the proletariat remains in force during both periods of building communism. Only the tasks are dif-

ferent. The main task of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the first phase of communism is the suppression of capitalist elements, the liquidation of hostile classes. The main task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the second phase of communism is to gradually abolish the classes altogether. To proclaim the "state of the whole people" is anti-Marxist and right-opportunist. The "state of the whole people" was and is nonsense. The state was and is a class instrument — in the Soviet Union of today, too, except that its class content has changed there.

To proclaim the "state of the whole people" was nothing but a gigantic fraud by the leading revisionists to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and set up the dictatorship of the bureaucratic capitalists, the new bourgeoisie, and to introduce the new type of capitalism.

The Abolition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Establishment of the Power of the Bureaucracy, Which Had Become a New Capitalist Class

At the XXIInd Party Congress, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union proclaimed the "state of the whole people" and declared briefly: "The Soviet Union is already past the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Izvestiya*). Since the working class is the sovereign of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there consequently can be no more working class exercising this dictatorship, and no more classes which the working class, being the most progressive class, must lead as long as classes exist. Only when the classes wither away does the state as a class instrument become unnecessary. This means that during the second phase of communism the dictatorship of the proletariat has the task to prepare the abolition of classes, until this last task is fulfilled with the gradual withering away of the classes. Marx was able to answer this question only in general scientific terms. Lenin advanced Marxism on this question, too, and clearly stressed:

> Socialism means the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes cannot be abolished at one stroke.

> And classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat they will not disappear.
>
> Classes have remained, but in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat *every* class has undergone a change, and the relations between the classes have also changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it merely assumes different forms. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 114/115)

The revisionists not only revised Marx, but also Lenin. Nobody can abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat without betraying the working class and socialism. Nobody can abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat without intending to reestablish capitalism. As long as classes exist, there will be class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary. Lenin wrote in his "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers":

> The abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which, *after* the overthrow of capitalist rule, *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *does not disappear* (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes fiercer....
>
> In order to abolish classes a period of the dictatorship of one class is needed, the dictatorship of precisely that oppressed class which is capable not only of overthrowing the exploiters, not only of ruthlessly crushing their resistance, but also of breaking ideologically with the entire bourgeois-democratic outlook, with all the philistine phrase-mongering about liberty and equality in general....
>
> More, classes can be abolished only by the dictatorship of that oppressed class which has been schooled, united, trained and steeled by decades of the strike and political struggle against capital — of that class alone which has assimilated all the urban, industrial, big-capitalist culture and has the determination and ability to protect it and to preserve and further develop all its achievements, and make them available to all the people, to all the working people — of that class alone which will be able to bear all the hardships, trials, privations and great sacrifices which history inevitably imposes upon those who break with the past and boldly hew a road for themselves to a new future — of that class alone whose finest members are full of

> hatred and contempt for everything petty-bourgeois and philistine, for the qualities that flourish so profusely among the petty bourgeoisie, the minor employees and the 'intellectuals' — of that class alone which 'has been through the hardening school of labor' and is able to inspire respect for its efficiency in every working person and every honest man. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 389/390)

This is a devastating denunciation of the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U.

If any more proof is needed of the open betrayal by the bureaucracy, those capitalist-roaders, we now examine whether the conditions required for a transition from the first to the second phase of communism had existed at all:

1. Production in the most important capitalist countries had neither been equalled nor surpassed.
2. There was no abundance of products; on the contrary, there were in part considerable shortages.
3. The two forms of social ownership had not moved close enough to each other yet, and the agricultural artels* had not yet advanced to the level of communes so as to enable the merger of both forms of ownership in the foreseeable future.
4. The contradiction between town and country and between physical and mental labor had not yet disappeared; on the contrary, this contradiction had become more acute with the growth of bureaucracy and its privileges.
5. Class contradictions still existed. Besides contradictions among the people, there were antagonistic contradictions with capitalist elements inside the country and with the outside capitalist world.
6. Introduction of the communist principle of distribution "to each according to his needs" was far off yet, because neither the mental nor the material conditions were met.

So there was nothing which could justify the transition from the first to the second phase of communism. The leading revisionists served up the fraud of the "state of the whole people," as an indication for the transition to the second phase of communism, only to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to seize power from the

* union of workers

working class in order to set up their own capitalist power. They transformed the Red Army, the working class's tool of power, by bureaucratizing it and granting the military leadership the same privileges as they had. (These brass hats with their golden epaulettes, their chestful of medals, and their traditional goose-step parades then felt equal to the bourgeois officers and had no scruples about transforming the power instrument of proletarian dictatorship into the power instrument of the ruling bureaucracy.)

And what about the Party, the C.P.S.U.? The true Marxist-Leninists were attacked, expelled and persecuted. The Party was transformed into a revisionist party, like all the other parties. The party of the working class was declared to be the "party of the entire people," just as the dictatorship of the proletariat had been proclaimed to be the "state of the whole people." The revisionist "people's party" is the party of the bureaucracy, of the new monopoly bourgeoisie. The "Programmatic Appeal of the Revolutionary Bolshevik Communists of the Soviet Union" sheds light on the consequences of this new power:

> So the bureaucrats dominate the entire practical life of the country. The people cannot put them out of office, but the bureaucracy can remove every employee of Party and government whom they consider too honest and dedicated to the people's interests.... The bureaucracy uses social demagogy as a shield for its own well-being.... Can there be any doubt about the utter degeneration of the bureaucracy, about the complete erosion of all forms of socialist life and socialist consciousness, when we look at the life we live today? Complete lack of enthusiasm among the masses, total indifference to work, a societal life that has become a farce, complete domination of egoistic principles, suppression of everything that is alive, vibrant and fresh — that is the balance of bureaucratic rule.

So low has the Soviet bureaucracy stooped, these worshippers of the capitalist road. Only on a foundation such as this were they able to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and rush through restoration of a new type of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

(First published as Revolutionärer Weg 7, *Die Restauration des Kapitalismus in der Sowjetunion*, Part I, 1971)

II

The Economy of Bureaucratic Capitalism

1. The Foundations of the Capitalist and the Socialist Economy

The Political Prerequisites of Capitalism and of Socialism

Socialism is a social order in which the essential means of production are not the private property of individuals, but the common property of all the working people. Necessary prerequisite for this social order is that the working class holds state power, that a dictatorship of the proletariat exists, which wrests the means of production from the capitalists and administers the socialized means of production in the interests of the working people. Marx and Engels wrote in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

> We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.
>
> The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 126)

It clearly follows from this that the gaining of political power by the working class is the **first** step that must in every case precede a socialist transformation of the economy. The classics of Marxism-Leninism warned emphatically of illusions that the construction of socialism could already be commenced under the rule of capital and that any nationalization, even by the state of the capitalists, was already socialization. In his work *Mr. E. Dühring's Revolution in Science*,

Engels writes, with clear reference to Lassalle's idea of "state socialism":

> But of late, since Bismarck went in for state ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 144)

Engels continues:

> But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers — proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. (*ibid.*, p. 145)

So it is not a question of state ownership by itself. The question is, what kind of a state is this: the "ideal personification of the total national capital" or the "proletariat organized as the ruling class." Here we have a crucial distinction between socialism and all economic systems based on exploitation. Capitalism already emerged and became strong under feudalism. There was a well-defined capitalist sector in feudalism, which long coexisted with feudalism and even was able to get certain sectors of the feudalist state, especially officialdom, on its side. There can be capitalism and capitalists without them holding state power. For this reason, even under the dictatorship of the proletariat a capitalist sector can exist, such as actually did exist in Soviet Russia at the time of the New Economic Policy during the 1920's. But since socialism requires the control of the essential means of production *by the state of the dictatorship of the prole-*

tariat, a socialist sector under capitalism is impossible. Thus, the working class must seize state power first.

This is precisely what the modern revisionists "forget" when they speak of the "socialist sector" in countries like Egypt, where the domestic bourgeoisie has expropriated and nationalized a part of the property of the foreign capitalists. In his speech to the XXIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Brezhnev cited the fact that the governments of Egypt and Burma have nationalized large parts of industry as proof that these countries "orient themselves to socialism" and have "taken the non-capitalist way of development." The parrots of Soviet revisionism in the West take the same line when they call for the "state ownership of key industries" *already under capitalism* and pass this off as a step to socialism.

But this disregard for the role of the state is not accidental, for it is precisely in the Soviet Union, whose leaders still speak of "socialism," that the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat has been abolished and replaced by the antisocial dictatorship of a new bourgeoisie.

When we talk about restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, usually some defender of revisionism can be found who asks us, "Where are the capitalists in the Soviet Union? It's all state-owned!" But this is begging the decisive question, namely, which class holds state power? Which class has control over state property? The proletariat and its allies or a corrupt new bourgeoisie isolated from the people?

From the moment the new bourgeoisie seizes state power, socialism is eliminated and supplanted by **state-monopoly capitalism of a new type**. This new type differs from the state-monopoly system of any Western imperialist power in that it is based in the main not on private capitalism but on a joint capitalism of the ruling bureaucracy, because in the Soviet Union the new bourgeois state apparatus controls not just certain key positions in the economy but almost **all** economic life. So there is no point in looking for individual capitalists here. The state of the new bourgeoisie is national capitalist and is maintained by "a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, namely, a new type of big bourgeoisie which dominates the whole state ma-

chine and controls all the social wealth," as said in the basic article of the Communist Party of China, "Leninism or Social-Imperialism?"

Socialist transformation is preceded by the seizure of power by the proletariat. It is similar with the restoration of capitalism. First, we have the counterrevolutionary usurpation of political power by the new bourgeoisie, which subsequently acts on the economic base. Outwardly, the economic structures are not substantially changed at first. The external features of the socialist economy (centralized planning and so on) remain apparently untouched. The only thing is, this is no longer a state monopoly in the hands of the proletariat, but a capitalist state monopoly in the hands of the new bourgeoisie. From the moment this bourgeoisie seizes power, an antagonistic contradiction arises between still existing social production and the private appropriation by a jointly acting thin stratum of top-level bourgeois.

But a capitalist system cannot be run by the same principles as a socialist system. The thirst for ever larger profits, the necessity to replace the voluntary labor discipline of socialism by a capitalist system of coercion, and, not least of all, the rivalries between the different bourgeois individuals and cliques, which, as Lenin showed, continue to exist, and intensify, even in monopoly capitalism — all these driving forces compel the revisionists to introduce a "reform" of the economic system, to transform the visible economic structures as well, and to employ capitalist management methods more and more openly. This "reform" brings the new capitalist structures increasingly to light.

Our study will concern itself in the following chiefly with bringing into view the overt, palpable symptoms of capitalist restoration. These visible changes may not have progressed as far in the Soviet Union as in some other revisionist-controlled countries like Yugoslavia and Hungary, yet they exist in abundance precisely in the Soviet Union. The economic history of the Soviet Union since the XXth Party Congress is the history of a gradual rollback of economic structures characteristic of socialism, accompanied by simultaneous destruction of the achievements of the socialist revolution. Neither can be abolished overnight. Serious contradictions may even arise (as in any state-monopoly system) between the "centralistic" and

"decentralistic" forces, between state capitalism and private capitalism. But all these contradictions and struggles cannot change the class character of the system one bit.

The Basic Economic Laws of Capitalism and of Socialism

Purpose and content of the capitalist mode of production lie in gaining the largest possible profit. All decisions and actions of the capitalists and their state are ultimately dictated by the bourgeoisie's insatiable pursuit of profit. Stalin discusses this in his work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*:

> The main features and requirements of the basic economic law of modern capitalism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits. (p. 39)

There is also a basic economic law of socialism. Stalin summarizes:

> The essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques. (*ibid.*, p. 40)

In capitalism, the production of items of use and the supplying of the needs of the population are only a means to an end. In *Theories of Surplus-Value* Marx explains:

> The direct purpose of capitalist production is not the production of commodities, but of surplus-value or profit (in its developed form), the aim is not the product, but the surplus-product....
>
> In this conception, the workers themselves appear as that which they are in capitalist production — mere means of production, not an end in themselves and not the aim of production. (Marx: *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part II, Progress Publishers Moscow, 1968)

In socialism, on the other hand, the requirements of people are the center of attention. The means of satisfying these requirements are provided by "continuous," i.e., uninterrupted by crises, "expansion" and "continuous perfection of production." Increasing production is no **end in itself** but, as Stalin explicitly points out, the chief **means** of satisfying the requirements of society.

Now does this contrast mean that surplus value and profit play no role in socialism? Not at all. On the one hand, it is clear that the total product of social labor cannot simply be divided up among the workers.

Marx showed in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* that also in socialism a considerable part of this product must remain in the hands of the state and cannot be distributed to the workers each according to their work.

According to Marx, we must deduct from the consumption funds:

> *First*, cover for replacement of the means of production used up.
>
> *Secondly*, additional portion for expansion of production.
>
> *Thirdly*, reserve or insurance funds to provide against accidents, dislocations caused by natural calamities, etc.
>
> These deductions from the 'undiminished proceeds of labor' are an economic necessity and their magnitude is to be determined according to available means and forces, and partly by computation of probabilities, but they are in no way calculable by equity.
>
> There remains the other part of the total product, intended to serve as means of consumption.
>
> Before this is divided among the individuals, there has to be deducted again, from it:
>
> *First, the general costs of administration not belonging to production.*
>
> This part will, from the outset, be very considerably restricted in comparison with present-day society and it diminishes in proportion as the new society develops.
>
> *Secondly, that which is intended for the common satisfaction of needs,* such as schools, health services, etc.
>
> From the outset this part grows considerably in comparison with present-day society and it grows in proportion as the new society develops.
>
> *Thirdly, funds for those unable to work,* etc., in short, for what is included under so-called official poor relief today [that was in Marx's

day; today, these are retirement and disability pensions, medical care, unemployment and welfare assistance - The Editors].

Only now do we come to the 'distribution' which the programme [the Gotha Programme - the Editors], under Lassallean influence, alone has in view in its narrow fashion, namely, to that part of the means of consumption which is divided among the individual producers of the cooperative society. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 16 and 17)

The "deductions" which Marx speaks of include expenditure for national defense under the conditions of capitalist encirclement.

Without this kind of "surplus value" socialism is not possible. Its production immediately goes to "satisfy the material and cultural requirements of society." But that is only one part of the story. Apart from the social "surplus product" there is also the "profit" of the individual factory. In the beginning of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. there were serious difficulties in industry for a time, especially in heavy industry. The individual factories operated with extreme inefficiency and waste. Stalin pointed out these inadequacies in his 1931 speech "New Conditions — New Tasks in Economic Construction":

It is a fact that in a number of enterprises and business organizations such concepts as "regime of economy," "cutting down unproductive expenditure," "rationalization of production" have long gone out of fashion. Evidently they assume that the State Bank "will advance the necessary money anyway." It is a fact that production costs in a number of enterprises have recently begun to increase. They were given the assignment of reducing costs by 10 per cent and more, but instead they are increasing them. Yet what does a reduction in the cost of production mean? You know that reducing the cost of production by one per cent means an accumulation in industry of 150 million to 200 million rubles. Obviously, to raise the cost of production under such circumstances means to deprive industry and the entire national economy of hundreds of millions of rubles. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 13, p. 77)

To remedy these deficiencies, the struggle above all against bureaucratism and slackness was intensified, the masses were mobilized, and communist factory managers with a high sense of respon-

sibility to the working class were developed. But in order to measure and **check** the efficiency of the individual enterprises, the system of economic accounting already introduced in some state enterprises during the New Economic Policy had to be further expanded.

This system required every enterprise to "purchase" its raw materials and means of production from the state at a fixed price, and to "sell" its products to the state at fixed prices. Every enterprise must account for its receipts and expenditures and try to obtain a "profit" if possible, i.e., an excess of receipts over expenditures, through economical use of materials and through rationalization. The state enterprises are to "be put on a commercial basis," as Lenin formulated in 1922. Of course, this is not a genuine "purchase" and "sale" since no exchange of property takes place. And the "profit," too, is purely calculatory in nature and not a source of enrichment to the factory or its director. In the period prior to the XXth Party Congress, almost all earnings had to be turned over to the State Bank. Even new investment was not financed from earnings of the enterprises involved, but by allocations from the State Bank laid down in plans. Profit and profitability (rate of profit) were intended above all as measures of the productivity of the enterprise.

Stalin felt compelled to warn against fetishizing profit, of overemphasizing the role of profit, of raising profit to the motive force of the economy.

> If this were true, it would be incomprehensible why our light industries, which are the most profitable, are not being developed to the utmost, and why preference is given to our heavy industries, which are often less profitable, and sometimes altogether unprofitable.
>
> If this were true it would be incomprehensible why a number of our heavy industry plants which are still unprofitable and where the labor of the worker does not yield the 'proper returns,' are not closed down, and why new light industry plants, which would certainly be profitable and where the labor of the workers might yield 'big returns,' are not opened.
>
> If this were true, it would be incomprehensible why workers are not transferred from plants that are less profitable, but very necessary to our national economy, to plants which are more profitable....

(Stalin: *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, pp. 22 and 23)

In practice, a certain part of the Soviet industrial enterprises brought no profit at all but operated with a "planned loss," something which would be unthinkable in capitalism. Enterprises which produce no profit in capitalism are either closed down or, if absolutely necessary investments are involved, for example, for the railways, the losses are "nationalized," i.e., passed on to the taxpayer. In socialism, by contrast, such losses can be compensated by the profits of other state enterprises. Stalin sums up:

> If profitableness is considered not from the standpoint of individual plants or industries, and not over a period of one year, but from the standpoint of the entire national economy and over a period of, say, ten or fifteen years, which is the only correct approach to the question, then the temporary and unstable profitableness of some plants or industries is beneath all comparison with that higher form of stable and permanent profitableness which we get from the operation of the law of balanced development of the national economy and from economic planning.... (*ibid.*, p. 24).

These words of Stalin are crystal clear and brilliantly express the difference between the significance of profit in capitalism and profit in socialism. In capitalism, every enterprise must yield a profit, otherwise it loses its reason for being and closes its doors. In socialism, every enterprise should operate profitably if possible. But in any case the profit principle must not be the motive force of the economy. The profit of each and every enterprise must subordinate itself to a "higher form of stable and permanent profitableness," to the goal of satisfying the requirements of the whole of society to an ever greater degree.

However, there are elements to whom these words of Stalin are unclear. The revisionist economist L. Gatovski writes in *Kommunist* No. 18, 1962, the theoretical organ of the C.P.S.U.:

> First of all, the concept of higher profitableness has been divorced from profit by Stalin. Therefore, the term 'higher profitableness' does not agree with its content. The clear and well-defined concept of profitability was replaced by the entirely unclear, indefinable and basi-

cally empty concept of higher profitableness, which has no relation to profit.

Secondly, the relationship here between the enterprise itself and profitability is incorrect. Consequently, profitability cannot and must not be stable and constant, but is unstable and transient.

Thirdly, the balance which Stalin connected with 'higher profitableness' has proven contradictory to the profitability of the individual enterprise.

This separation of planning from profitability contradicts the fundamental tasks of socialist economics. Ensuring the profitability of the individual enterprises as the basis of socialist accumulation is one of the most important tasks of socialist planning.

One can feel the horror of this bourgeois featherhead when he recalls the "terrible days" of the "personality cult":

> What point did it make then to raise the question of the objective necessity of profit? No wonder one could not view profit as a necessary category of a normally functioning socialist enterprise in that period.... It went so far that, generally, operating at a loss was considered a quite normal economic phenomenon and even as an advantage of socialism. It was a commonly held idea that the profitability principle was generally a capitalist principle unknown to socialism. It "limited the advantages" of a planned economy, so it had to be repudiated.

This pretended naivety has its reasons. The new bourgeoisie takes possession of the state and economic apparatus not because it wants to satisfy the requirements of the population. No, it assumes power for the sole purpose of enriching itself, of using the state economic machinery for its own ends, for making profits.

We will prove in detail below how the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union has made the capitalist profit principle the lodestar of economic activity, both in theory and in practice; and how it simultaneously has turned profit from a mere quantity for accounting into a direct source of enrichment to the ruling class and a means of corrupting the working class. Before we can go into this, however, we must first take up another theoretical problem, the question of the operation of the law of value in socialism.

Commodity Production and the Law of Value in Capitalism and in Socialism

If the profit principle is the basic law of capitalism, commodity production is the mechanism by which this profit is realized. Commodity production is the economic foundation of capitalism, and in capitalism commodity production reaches its highest development.

"As a general rule, articles of utility become commodities," Marx writes in the first chapter of *Capital*, "only because they are **products of the labor of private individuals or groups of individuals who carry on their work independently of each other**" (Marx: *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 72, International Publishers New York, 1967; emphasis added by us - The Editors). These products are exchanged with one another by their owners, with two products having the same (exchange) value being exchanged.

> We see then that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor-time socially necessary for its production.... As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labor-time. (*ibid.*, p. 39/40)

If, then, two products are to be exchanged with one another as commodities, this requires

1. that their owners are private proprietors independent of each other, and
2. that the same quantity of socially necessary labor is used for the production of the two commodities, i.e., that they have the same value.

The price is the value in money form. The law of value might be formulated in approximately this way: the prices of commodities are determined as a rule by their value, i.e., by the quantity of socially necessary labor-time congealed in them. As we know, Marx developed his analysis of the commodity in the first chapter of his main work and based his entire critique of capitalism on it, as Lenin noted in his writing "On the Question of Dialectics":

> In his *Capital*, Marx first analyzes the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday *relation* of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times, viz. the ex-

> change of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) analysis reveals *all* the contradictions (or the germs of *all* the contradictions) of modern society. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 360)

Marx and Engels emphasized on several occasions that the commodity and value can play no part in socialism. Marx writes in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*:

> Within the cooperative society based on common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labor employed on the products appear here *as the value* of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in contrast to capitalist society, individual labor no longer exists in an indirect fashion but directly as a component part of the total labor. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 17)

According to Marx, in socialism articles of use are no longer sold to the workers but simply distributed among them according to their work, money having become unnecessary.

But Marx and Engels had always assumed that socialism means mastering "all the means of production," taking "possession of the totality of the means of production," as is said in *Anti-Dühring*. But as we know, in the socialist countries not **all** means of production are immediately concentrated in the hands of the state, for in addition to the state sector there is also a **cooperative** sector (agricultural and trade cooperatives) and, initially, in part also a **private** sector (private plots and livestock of the peasants, private craftsmen, and a private-capitalist sector). This is, as Lenin already ascertained, an absolute necessity in countries in which capitalism has not yet completely proletarized the small proprietors and has not yet gained full ascendancy in the village. In the Soviet Union it would have been unthinkable simply to expropriate the peasants and unite them in state-owned agricultural enterprises. This would have made an alliance between workers and peasants impossible and driven the entire peasantry into the counterrevolutionary camp. The only alternative is voluntary union of the peasants in collective economic units which jointly dispose of their products and sell them to the state.

Under these conditions, the statements of Marx and Engels regarding the nonexistence of commodity production only apply in a sharply restricted sense as far as the first phase of communism is concerned. Stalin points out in *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* (page 13):

> In order to ensure an economic bond between town and country, between industry and agriculture, commodity production (exchange through purchase and sale) ... being the form of economic tie with the town which is *alone acceptable* to the peasants....

Thus if the state needs grain from the cooperatives to feed the workers in the cities, and if the peasants of the cooperatives need industrial products, for example, metal pots or radios, from the state, exchange can only take place by way of commodity exchange, of purchase and sale. But since there cannot, of course, be two separate markets and systems of distribution — one only for the workers in state enterprises, the other only for cooperative members — it is clear that the supply of consumer goods to the workers in the cities also must take place through purchase and sale. This circulation of commodities is regulated by the law of value, for the only "equitable" form of exchange (the only form acceptable to both sides) is exchange of equal quantities of labor.

Thus, the law of value also operates in socialism, but is essentially limited to the buying up of agricultural products and the sale of consumer goods. This continuing operation of the law of value is based on the existence of two separate forms of socialist ownership in the first phase of communism.

It follows from this that the means of production, which the state "sells" to the individual enterprises, and the finished products, which the enterprises "sell" to the state, are not commodities and not subject to the law of value.

Stalin writes:

> Can means of production be regarded as commodities in our socialist system? In my opinion they certainly cannot.
>
> A commodity is a product which may be sold to any purchaser, and when its owner sells it, he loses ownership of it and the pur-

chaser becomes the owner of the commodity, which he may resell, pledge or allow to rot. Do means of production come within this category? They obviously do not. In the first place, means of production are not 'sold' to any purchaser, they are not 'sold' even to collective farms; they are only allocated by the state to its enterprises. In the second place, when transferring means of production to any enterprise, their owner — the state — does not at all lose the ownership of them; on the contrary, it retains it fully. In the third place, directors of enterprises who receive means of production from the Soviet state, far from becoming their owners, are deemed to be the agents of the state in the utilization of the means of production in accordance with the plans established by the state. (*ibid.*, p. 53)

When we speak of the "price" of means of production, this is merely a matter of cost allocation. Contrary to foreign trade, in which the means of production are still sold as commodities, the situation is such that

> in the sphere of domestic economic circulation, means of production lose the properties of commodities, cease to be commodities and pass out of the sphere of operation of the law of value, retaining only the outward integument of commodities (calculation, etc.). (*ibid.*, p. 54)

This statement is a scientific summary of the role of the law of value in socialism, a creative and correct advancement of the teachings of Marx and Engels under the conditions of a socialist society which still knows **two** principal forms of socialist ownership.

It was precisely this Marxist-Leninist precept which the modern revisionists first repudiated when they began to patch a revisionist economic theory together.

Under the banner of the "struggle against the personality cult" a "scientific conference" on the law of value took place in December, 1956. Although a number of differences surfaced, the participants of the conference agreed by and large that Stalin's restriction of the law of value to consumer goods was "amiss." *Voprosy Ekonomiki* No. 2, 1957, reported on a discussion in the Academy of Sciences on the law of value and the formation of prices in the U.S.S.R.:

> One positive result of the meeting, comrade Gatovski said, is the

> serious criticism of the views which have artificially restricted the role of commodity production and of the law of value. Particularly the widespread view that the means of production in socialism are not commodities and that commodity production and circulation extend only to the sphere of consumer goods was subjected to a convincing critique.

To "substantiate" this, the main speaker, Kronrod, presented an extremely confused and subjectivist theory, which even many of the participants in the discussion rejected. According to Kronrod, the continued existence of commodity production is not based on the fact of two forms of ownership but on the "dissimilarity of labor," i.e., the different qualifications, difficulties, et cetera involved in each work, and on the "necessity of a material incentive." That the reasons are not important to the revisionists, only the result, is proven by the fact that they arrive at the same result today with a completely different "theory." The new theory says: the law of value also holds within the state-owned sector because production there is based on division of labor. By sleight of hand they thus replace the Marxist touchstone of commodity production, the **change of ownership**, with mere **division of labor.**

Characteristically, a book entitled *Ökonomische Gesetze im gesellschaftlichen System des Sozialismus* ("Economic laws in the social system of socialism"), published in 1969 in the G.D.R., writes:

> The division of labor among the producers is of a social nature, is an expression of the relations between economically independent social producers.

Whatever the reasons they give, through today one of the essential doctrines of revisionist economics is the universal applicability of commodity production in socialism, inclusive of production and "sale" of means of production.

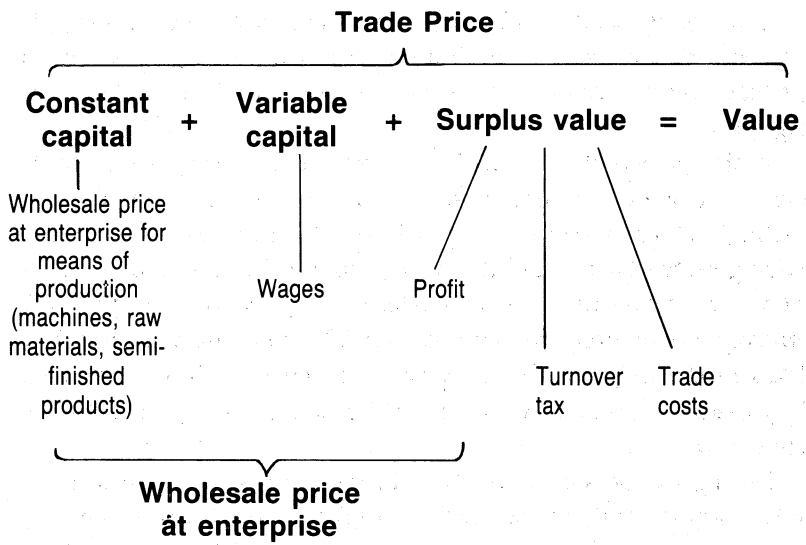
What originally may have appeared to be a purely academic discussion was in fact preparation for a serious attack on the socialist economic structures. The revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the law of value was designed to open the door wide to all-round introduction of the capitalist profit principle, just as the theories of

"peaceful transition" and "peaceful coexistence" were designed to justify the counterrevolutionary collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, and just as the theory of the "state of the whole people" was intended to choke class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This can be illustrated by price policies.

What was the price policy of the socialist Soviet Union under Stalin? The prices for industrial products were determined based, first, on the production costs of a factory; second, on the net income (profit) of a factory; third, on the centralized net profit of the state in form of the so-called turnover tax. There are two principal price forms (exception: foreign trade prices): the wholesale price at the enterprise and the wholesale price of industry, which, however, is not always put together in the same way for all products. This is accurately expressed in the following words in the 1954 political economy textbook authored by a collective of Soviet scientists:

> The **wholesale price at the enterprise** is equal to the planned cost plus the net income of the enterprise (profit).... [It] ensures for the enterprise compensation for its planned expenditure and the receipt of net income....
>
> The **wholesale price of industry** includes the wholesale price at the enterprise and that part of the centralized net income of the State which is allocated to the Budget at fixed rates, the 'turnover tax.'
>
> The net income of society is created in all branches of production.... However, part of the centralized net income of the State, allocated at fixed rates, passes into the Budget through the price mechanism primarily from those branches of the economy which produce consumer goods. Prices for the output of branches which produce means of production, as a rule, are fixed below the value, since they do not contain parts of the net income created in these branches. Thereby this part of the net income passes from heavy industry into light industry and the food-producing industry and is realized in the prices of consumer goods. This ensures a relatively low level of prices for the means of production which are used in industry, agriculture and building, and reduces their cost of production accordingly. (*Political Economy.* A textbook issued by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., London, 1957, pp. 631 and 632)

The Soviet Price System in Diagram Form



The factories are tasked with cutting costs through rational use of the means of production and through technical innovation, which is then expressed in rising profit. The difference between the wholesale price at enterprise and the trade price (minus trade costs and profit of the trading organizations) constitutes the so-called turnover tax. It should be noted though that the word "turnover tax" has not been particularly well chosen since this "tax" has nothing to do with a tax in the capitalist sense. In the socialist Soviet Union the "turnover tax" was the main source of income for the state budget.

If, however, the means of production are commodities and the exchange of goods between the state and the enterprises is consequently an exchange of commodities, then the wholesale price at the enterprise must also be subject to the law of value. As early as 1956, Kronrod pointed out in his paper the need to bring the wholesale prices at the enterprise "into agreement with the value," and so he proposed "to change the prices for commodities of section I (means of production) without changing the prices of the commodities of

section II (consumer goods)." Indeed, since then prices of the means of production have been raised again and again under the pretext of "exploiting the commodity-money relations" and similar pretexts. This means that the profit is raised by manipulating the wholesale prices at the enterprise, while the turnover tax increasingly loses significance.

Table 1 shows that profits have increased tremendously since the price theory was revised. These profits were not made only by "correcting" prices, of course — we will look into the other methods of raising profits later — but the jacking up of prices is one of the most important contributors. At any rate, the huge increase in profits is entirely out of proportion to the official figures on the growth of labor productivity. Since 1966, profit transfers have become the most important source of state funds. Until 1966 the turnover tax was the chief source.

During the period of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the role of profit was restricted further and further in favor of the turnover tax. The share of the state budget accounted for by profit transfers declined

TABLE 1

Absolute volume of profits and turnover tax in state enterprises (in billions of rubles)

Year	Profits	Turnover tax
1940[1]	3.3	10.6
1950[1]	5.2	23.6
1960[1]	25.2	31.3
1969[1]	72.7	44.5
1970[2]	87.0	49.4
1971[2]	90.1	54.5

Sources:
1 *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 godu*, pp. 741 and 769
2 *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR 1922-1972*, p. 465

from 12.1 percent in 1940 to 9.5 percent in 1950. Since the seizure of power by the revisionists the tendency is exactly the opposite. The share of profit transfers in the budget rose from 9.5 percent in 1950 to 24.2 percent in 1960, and to 34.3 percent by 1966. The share of the turnover tax declined from 55.8 percent (1950) to 31.8 percent (1969). (*Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 godu*, p. 770)

The important thing is not so much the growth of profit itself. The essential point is that an increasingly large portion of the profits is no longer transferred to the state, but remains in the enterprises for one or the other purpose, and in substantial part serves to enrich the factory directors and managerial employees. In 1969 merely 61 percent of the profits were transferred to the state. In 1960 it was 64 percent. The other 39 percent of the 72.7 billion rubles remain in the enterprises (*ibid.*, pp. 741-742).

We shall come back to what happens with these profits later. The important thing here is the relative independence of the individual enterprises from the state and the growing power of the individual factory directors. It is the very revision of the Marxist theory of the law of value which provides the "moral" justification for the changeover to the capitalist profit principle. If the factories are now independent units which sell the commodities to each other according to their value, if profit is no longer a simple accounting factor but an objective quantum of value, then it is only natural that the enterprises dispose of a large part of the profits. The directors and managers who drive up profits by price manipulation on the one hand, and by intensifying exploitation of the workers on the other, put a corresponding part in their own pockets as remuneration for "clever" management.

The continued existence of the law of value in socialism is an expression of the dialectics, of the contradictory nature of socialist society. It is an expression of the fact that communism has not yet been achieved, that certain features of capitalism continue to exist and operate, but are increasingly being pushed back. In the twenties and thirties there was a "left" deviation in the Soviet Union which did not understand these dialectics and did not want to accord the law of value a place in socialism. Today, Cuban theoretical econo-

mists hold similar false views. The Soviet revisionists and their parrots also deny these dialectics by making the law of value the law of all production. The "left" revisionists ignore the vestiges of capitalism and want to jump to communism immediately. The right revisionists want to perpetuate the capitalist remains. The Soviet revisionists have thus liquidated socialism and wholly returned to capitalism.

Commodity production is one of the "birthmarks" of capitalism which, as Marx said, cling to socialism. Stalin saw one of the roots of a possible restoration of capitalism in the continued existence of commodity production. In his speech "The Right Danger in the C.P.S.U.(B.)" he said in 1928:

> Have we in our Soviet country any of the conditions that would make the restoration of capitalism *possible*? Yes, we have. That, comrades, may appear strange, but it is a fact. We have overthrown capitalism, we have established the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are developing our socialist industry at a rapid pace and are linking peasant economy with it. But we have not yet torn out the roots of capitalism. Where are these roots imbedded? They are imbedded in commodity production, in small production in the towns and, especially, the countryside. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 11, p. 235)

As long as the dictatorship of the proletariat exists, as long as the socialist state puts tight restrictions on commodity production, it is in itself nothing fearful or unnatural. It can even be a very useful, a very important thing. This vestige and "seed" of bourgeois society does not at all have to develop into full-fledged capitalism, even though it harbors this danger. But when the dictatorship of the proletariat is abolished, when commodity production can expand without restrictions, even spreading to areas from which it was previously strictly excluded, it inevitably brings all the evils of capitalism with it.

The new capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union and their paid ideologists try to obscure this fact by all manner of means. In *World Marxist Review*, the English edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 7, 1970, the leading revisionist economist Leontiev takes issue with views

> that the economic laws of socialism are a mixture of the laws relating to two formations, capitalism and communism.

(Bourgeois ideologists have always described Marxist dialectics with words like "mixture.") Leontiev goes on:

> At one time the theory was current that commodity-money relations are but a vestigial carry-over from capitalism, a birthmark of the old mode of production. An analysis of economic realities led the communist and workers' parties of most socialist countries to reject that notion.

If one "underestimates" the law of value so strongly then "cost accounting is thus reduced to a planning and bookkeeping technicality, to a management instrument deprived of economic content."

First of all, the expression "most socialist countries" seems remarkable here. Even Leontiev knows that Marxist economic theory is defended in the genuinely socialist countries which have remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism. As just one example we quote the work of Kim Il-Sung, Secretary-General of the Party of Labor of Korea, entitled "On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy," published in Volume V of his *Selected Works* in Pyongyang in 1972. Kim Il-Sung expressly connects the law of value with the "transitional character of our society" and proves:

> Therefore, the machines, equipment, raw materials and other supplies, which are transferred between the state enterprises, cannot be called commodities realized through the operation of the law of value.

It is also remarkable in Leontiev's statement that cost accounting does not remain an "a bookkeeping technicality, a management instrument," as one normally would conclude from its name, but acquires an "economic content." That can only mean that business accounting now no longer has to do with **seemingly** independent enterprises, which enter a **seemingly** commercial relationship with each other, but with **genuine** independence and **genuine** exchange of commodities which, as such, is subject to the law of value. Such theories, just like the already cited thesis of "social division of labor

as expression of the relations between economically independent social producers," are nothing other than open attacks on state ownership of the means of production. They are the justification for directors to consider enterprises a source of personal enrichment, for directors to see themselves no longer as officials of the people, who devote all their activities to satisfying the needs of the people and must subordinate their management effort to the higher form of profitableness, but as capitalists to whom the capitalist profit principle has become the highest goal.

2. The Revisionists Make Capitalist Profit the Chief Principle of Soviet Economy

The Beginnings of "Economic Reform" under Khrushchov

The undermining of socialist economic structures in the Soviet Union began, as we have seen, with a broad economic debate. After the issue of the law of value had been settled to the revisionists' taste, they devoted themselves mainly to the problem how labor productivity in the state enterprises could be raised. Khrushchov's people lamented that the factories had not been productive enough in the past and searched for new ways to raise productivity.

This discussion generally centered around two main points:

1. In the past insufficient emphasis had been placed on profit. Labor productivity could only be raised through stronger emphasis on and application of the profit principle.

2. To raise profitability and thus productivity it is necessary to spur both factory and directors to higher performance by "material incentives." To interest directors and workers in boosting profits, a part of the profit obtained should be disbursed in form of bonuses.

We have already seen that profitability is only a measure of productivity and cannot determine it by any means. We have also seen that profits can even be substantially raised without increasing productivity at all, simply by manipulating prices. But since the revisionists were not the least interested in productivity in reality, but

only in maximizing profit, they were not bothered by such considerations.

In that period, the most well-known advocate of expanding the role of profit was the revisionist economist Lieberman, who must be considered the real father of the "economic reform." Lieberman's proposals essentially amounted to making profit the main lever of economic management. A single target, namely, profitability (ratio of profit to capital), was to replace the many target figures previously fixed by the state. All other targets such as overall volume of output, cost fund, wage fund, etc., were to be fixed by the individual enterprises on their own. Thus, as is usual in capitalism, profit maximization had to be made the main principle, the regulator of all economic activity, to which all other goals must subordinate themselves.

Lieberman's proposals were not put into practice in this unveiled capitalist form, but his special role consists exactly in being the first person in the Soviet Union to put forward the thesis of profit as chief economic lever, a thesis which, in open or concealed form, runs through all "experiments" and "reform" plans of the revisionists like a thread. Lieberman, a protégé of Khrushchov, contributed a great deal to make the economic discussion completely fulfill its purpose, namely, to make profit the focus of economic experts' thoughts and to justify the introduction of economic structures geared purely to profit.

Khrushchov was not content with mere discussion. By the end of the fifties he had already implemented a whole list of "reforms," as, for example, the dissolution of the central ministries for individual industries and the transfer of economic management to regional organs, or the dissolution of the machine and tractor stations and the sale of agricultural machinery to the collective farms. Khrushchov distinguished himself particularly with these and similar "reforms" in agriculture. We will not go into more detail here on Khrushchov's agricultural policies. One year after Khrushchov's fall, Kosygin himself was forced to admit that "the lag in agriculture has resulted in a slowing down of the rates of development in industry, and especially in the branches producing consumer goods."

Of great significance were the "reforms" of the system of manage-

ment of industrial enterprises. Up to 1959, fulfillment of the production plan, i.e., the output of a certain quantity of products fixed by the state, was the primary task of enterprises and the one most stringently controlled by the state. Central planning is a socialist economic principle requiring the cooperation of the lower levels and democratic control by the masses. But in July, 1959, the priorities in the enterprises were shifted. Instead of production plan fulfillment as guiding principle, the cutting of production costs, the fulfillment of the cost reduction plan was made the chief task of enterprises. This was expressed in the new bonus system. According to *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* of May 9, 1964, in textile factories, for example, bonuses amounting to as much as 12 percent of salaries were paid for fulfilling the plan for the reduction of production costs. For every one-tenth percent cost reduction over and above the plan, the additional bonus was as much as 1.2 percent of salary, and for every full percentage point as much as 3 percent. As one can see, profit was not yet the main criterion of success as it was later, but since a cost reduction normally means an increase in profit, an important step had been taken in this direction.

In July of 1964 the "Bolshevichka-Mayak experiment" began, first in two garment factories, and was extended to 400 enterprises of light industry by the end of the year. In this experiment, as described by *Pravda* of October 4, 1964, the amount of the bonuses for management depended explicitly on the rate of profit of the enterprise. Another important feature of this experiment was that the volume of production was no longer determined by the plan, but by the orders of shops, i.e., by market demand. This restricted one of the main characteristics of the socialist economic system, the planfulness, and allowed free scope to the spontaneous forces of the market. It was intended to remedy the effects of a bureaucratic planning which did not sufficiently take the needs of the population into account. For in fulfilling the plans, factory managers often did not ask whether or not their products were needed. They were concerned with their bonuses, not with the requirements of the population.

So, many shops filled up with articles which no one would buy, while other products were in very short supply. But this "reform"

did nothing to change the situation. *Izvestiya* of 17 July 1970 reported that Moscow shops alone stocked 34 million rubles worth of plastic raincoats for which there was no longer a requirement.

Along the same lines as the "Bolshevichka-Mayak experiment" was the "transport experiment," which was conducted in five enterprises in 1965, shortly after Khrushchov's removal from office. According to *Vestnik Statistiki* No. 11, 1965, only one single target figure continued to be fixed centrally in this experiment, and that was the absolute amount of profit to be transferred to the state budget. If profits exceeded this central levy, only 40 percent of the additional profit had to be handed over. The remaining 60 percent were free to be disposed of by the enterprises. With the exception of the planned profit transfer, the enterprises were allowed to set all other targets on their own. It is no wonder that the directors and managers set these figures so as to push up profits by every conceivable means.

In the enterprises which were changed over for the experiment, profits doubled within five months while nominal capital remained almost constant (*Finansy SSSR* No. 12, 1965). In one enterprise in Leningrad, according to *Vestnik Statistiki* No. 11, 1965, profits rose from 200 rubles in 1964 to 72,900 rubles in 1965.

Brezhnev and Kosygin Change Over the Entire Economy to the Capitalist New Economic System

At the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in October, 1964, Khrushchov surprisingly "stepped down from" all his offices. Khrushchov's fall was the consequence of the growing dissatisfaction of the Soviet people with his antipeople policies, above all his disastrous economic policies, which, through insatiable pursuit of profit, had brought the industry and agriculture of the Soviet Union to the brink of chaos. To save their own skins, his accomplices, the other revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union, made him the scapegoat. They even had to reverse some of his craziest changes. They reintroduced the central industrial ministries, for example, and attempted to reduce the confusion in agriculture. But the essence of Khrushchov's policies, the restoration of capitalism, was left un-

touched. Quite on the contrary, they took every effort to push the restoration of capitalism forward, more quickly and more thoroughly.

This became clear as daylight at the September 1965 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. What Khrushchov had initiated with small changes and isolated experiments was now prescribed for the entire economy: elevation of the capitalist principle of profit maximization to be the motive principle of economic activity. In his historic report to this plenary meeting, Kosygin formulated the basic principles of the "economic reform," which have retained their validity to this day (Kosygin report in: *New Methods of Economic Management in the USSR*, Moscow, 1965).

On the pretext of "perfecting planning" and "expanding the economic initiative and independence of enterprises," Kosygin rigorously restricted the role of central planning and gave broad scope to the "initiative" of directors and managers. Instead of the previous 40 to 50 target indices, now only eight were assigned centrally. "All the other indices of economic activity will be planned by the enterprise independently, without endorsement by a higher organization." Even the index "overall volume of output", which used to be the most important, was simply deleted and replaced by the "volume of goods actually sold." This means that the production plan is only considered fulfilled if the products are sold to the consumers. The enterprises are thus subjected in large degree to the vagaries of demand. Next to this, the target "amount of profits and level of profitableness" occupies a central role. Deletion of targets like "number of workers" and "labor productivity" is designed to enable the enterprises to introduce all sorts of "improvements" like layoffs or speedup to increase profits.

Leonid Pekarski, leading economic expert of the economic research institute attached to the State Planning Committee, phrased it this way:

> In a nutshell, the real content of the reform consists in enlarging the economic independence and initiative of enterprises, which opens the way to better utilization of their production potential.

In his report to the plenary meeting of September, 1965, Kosygin saw in the "transport experiment" the model for a "reform" of the economic system.

> Recently a new system of bonus payments to managers, engineers, technicians and office workers [Kosygin is wise not to mention the workers - The Editors.] was introduced at enterprises in a number of industries, aimed at raising the workers' interest in the growth of production and the quality of the goods.

Citing this extremely "positive" experience, Kosygin diagnosed that the chief means of raising productivity was to increase the "interest of enterprises." This would be achieved by retaining a substantial part of the profits in a "material incentive fund" for employees and no longer transferring these profits to the state budget.

Under the previous system

> The achievements of the enterprise in increasing profits and profitability of production do not have any direct effect on the wages of the staff of the enterprise.
>
> It is necessary to change this system in order to give the workers a greater material incentive. It is necessary to introduce a system under which the enterprise's opportunities for increasing the remuneration of its workers would be determined, above all, by the growth of production, improved quality, increased profits and greater profitableness of production.

To this end enterprises

> must have at their disposal — in addition to the wage fund — their own source for stimulating the workers to individual achievements and to high overall results for their enterprises.
>
> This source must be a part of the profits obtained by the enterprise.

The "economic reform" was further explained by V. Garbusov, minister of finance then and now, in *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* No. 41, 1965:

> Use of the scope of sold production as basic index links production and consumption more closely, and in this connection the index "profit" will be the orientation point for the effectiveness of work and

> the chief economic incentive for every collective which heightens its interest in obtaining best results of work and in perfecting production. From the profits, the funds for material incentives and the funds for developing production will be formed.... They will be the chief source for awards of bonuses to workers, technical and engineering personnel and administrative staff, and for making assistance payments to these employees in individual cases. From these funds the collective will also receive material acknowledgement for good results achieved by the enterprise as a whole. **The higher the profits obtained by the enterprise, the larger the amounts transferred to the material incentive fund** and the production development fund. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Profit thus becomes the chief criterion of the "efficacy of labor," the chief lever of economic management. To induce enterprises to raise profits, a material incentive fund is formed, the size of which directly depends on the volume of profit.

> Those enterprises which make better use of their fixed assets and working capital will retain more profits for setting up incentive funds, and thus provide the necessary material encouragement for the better use of state money allocated to the enterprise.... (Kosygin at the September 1965 plenary meeting)

In other words, a substantial portion of the profits is no longer transferred to the state budget, but is divided up among the employees. The more profit factory managers are able to squeeze out of the workers, the higher their incomes and those of the other factory employees will be.

The "success" of the economic reform, so Brezhnev in his report to the XXIIIrd Congress of the C.P.S.U. (1966)

> now depends to a considerable extent on the ability, initiative and efficiency of executives, engineers and technicians, on a bold approach to the solution of the intricate problems of economic development, on the ability to mobilize factory staffs to fulfil plans and achieve the maximum efficiency in production. (*23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 70)

These words could be taken from a Western management maga-

zine. In our countries too it is popular to speak of the "initiative," "efficiency" and "boldness" which managerial personnel must exercise to raise "efficiency in production," i.e. profit, by every maneuver imaginable. But managers in East and West can only deliver this "entrepreneurial achievement" if they have a "material interest" in it, if their own income directly depends on the acquired profit. In the West, this is achieved by giving managers, who, formally, are only salaried employees, wage recipients, substantial parcels of stocks or by spurring them on with other forms of profit sharing. In the East, the same result is achieved with the "material incentive fund" coupled to the profits.

However, the revisionists do not explain to what extent this "stimulation fund" benefits the workers and to what extent the managerial employees. They seem to anxiously avoid this question. They try to get around the point by simply lumping together as "employees" the workers who produce all material goods and the managerial staff, who only help to organize production and create no values themselves. Despite this shamefaced silence, there is no doubt that in the "economic reform," just as in the "transport experiment," the bonuses primarily benefit managerial personnel.

First of all, it should be noted that the material incentives are distributed as a percentage of wages, as a rule. But since the leading managers and engineers have appreciably higher base incomes than the workers, a bonus of, let us say, 50 percent has a completely different meaning for the managerial employee than for the worker. On top of that, a substantial part of the "stimulation fund" is earmarked for single bonus payments for specific technical innovations, suggestions for rationalization and so on. Since, however, the managerial people can overlook things better, they are in a far better position to submit such suggestions and are the ones who primarily profit from this kind of bonus.

Pravda of January 30, 1970, reports from the "Red October" factory in Volgograd that the average bonus in the factory amounts to 35 percent of the average wage. In certain departments it reaches 44 percent, but never more. The effect was that when people reached the 44 percent level they ceased trying to improve their performance.

How did the factory management solve the problem? First it tried to get people to work faster by threatening to cut bonuses. Apparently this did not have the desired effect, for which *Pravda* gives as reason: "since bonuses are awarded to the collective, regardless of the personal contribution of each individual member"; i.e., some had tried to let the others pull them along. Now the management of the factory has devised a new method initially applying only to engineering and technical staff and salaried personnel (it is not going to stay that way?):

> All engineering and technical jobs were classified in groups and brought into relation with the target figures directly influenced by them. The same limiting bonus (44 percent) was divided into two parts. The one half was paid out as in the past based on whether the factory bay or some other subdepartment fulfills the plan in regard to profit. The other half is for the personal contribution, the achievement of two economic targets demanded by an ordinance on material incentives.... Take for example the first group, consisting of bay managers, their deputies, the standards experts and economists. Two additional targets have been set for all these people: fulfillment of the duties relating to growth of labor productivity, and cutting of the cost of production. For foremen there are also specific requirements: reduction of rejects in comparison with the previous year and meeting orders.... This way each person has the chance to show what he can do, for the second part of the bonus must be earned directly by one's own work.

We will discuss in detail what purpose these bonuses serve and what effect they have on the simple worker. But as far as the bonuses for executive staff are concerned, it should be clear that they have no other purpose than to make the greed for profit of a handful of new capitalists the motive force of the economy. The factory managers are no longer devoted servants of the working class whose every effort goes to organize the economy in such a way that the requirements of society are satisfied to the maximum degree, but are autocratic little entrepreneurs to whom no device is too dirty to increase their personal gain.

The revisionists always argue that under the given conditions the

"economic reform" is the only possible way to raise the productivity of labor and get the sputtering economy moving forwards. They are quite right. Under the conditions of the restoration of capitalism one cannot expect managers to automatically make a big effort to rake in the wealth for some capitalist higher-ups in the Kremlin. They are willing to exert themselves only if they are allowed to keep an appropriate share of the profits for themselves. "Pay and get paid, that is the morality of the capitalist world," Lenin appropriately observed.

In socialism, on the other hand, matters stand differently. In the first period of construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R., when the technical cadres from the old society were the only people who had a mastery of the new technology, it was necessary more or less to "bribe" the old experts to win them for socialist construction. But the communists always viewed this as a necessary evil, as a concession to the remains of the old society that should be made unnecessary as soon as possible, and that should not by any means be looked upon as a "perfecting of socialist economic management" or the like. Above all, the directors and experts were subjected to the strictest control by the Party and the state. No one would have hit on the idea of restricting this control and giving individual enterprises ever greater independence under the pretext of "unfolding initiative."

The moment proletarian power consolidated, the communists undertook with all their might to replace the old experts by a new proletarian intelligentsia. This intelligentsia had to be characterized by the outstanding qualities of the working people, by solidarity, sacrifice and love of work. Stalin pointed out:

> But we do not need just *any kind* of administrative, engineering and technical forces. We need *such* administrative, engineering and technical forces as are capable of understanding the policy of the working class of our country, capable of assimilating that policy and ready to carry it out conscientiously. And what does this mean? It means that our country has entered a phase of development in which the *working class must create its own industrial and technical intelligentsia*, one that is capable of upholding the interests of the working class in production as the interests of the ruling class. (Stalin: "New Conditions — New Tasks in Economic Construction," in: *Works*, Vol. 13, p. 68)

What does it mean then when the Brezhnev people, fifty years after the October Revolution, go so far as to base the remuneration of economic managers on the obtained profits? Is that "perfecting socialist economic management," or is it undermining socialist morale? Is that a new contribution to "constructing communism," or is it a step back towards capitalism?

The "economic reform" of the New Economic System not only shows the inability of the revisionist leaders to continue managing the economy by the old socialist principles, but also their conscious abandonment of these principles. They keep their system going only by making open concessions to the greed of the management of the individual factories, only by making unconditional use of capitalist corruption and bribery.

The Difference between the Revisionist Policies of the New Economic System and Lenin's New Economic Policy

Occasionally, the revisionists demagogically refer to the New Economic Policy at the time of Lenin to justify their capitalist economic policy. But this is utterly distorting the facts. What was the situation back then? War and civil war had destroyed the economy of Soviet Russia by 1921. Want and ruin prevailed in industry and agriculture. In these years following the October Revolution, Soviet power was forced to ensure the supply of necessities to the workers in the cities by the policy of so-called war communism. This was not possible at times without using compulsion on big peasants and speculators. Lenin wrote in *The Tax in Kind*:

> Under this peculiar War Communism we actually took from the peasant all his surpluses — and sometimes even a part of his necessaries — to meet the requirements of the army and sustain the workers. Most of it we took on loan, for paper money. But for that, we would not have beaten the landowners and capitalists in a ruined small-peasant country....
>
> It was the war and the ruin that forced us into War Communism. It was not, and could not be, a policy that corresponded to the economic tasks of the proletariat. It was a makeshift. The correct policy of the proletariat exercising its dictatorship in a small-peasant country is to

obtain grain in exchange for the manufactured goods the peasant needs. That is the only kind of food policy that corresponds to the tasks of the proletariat, and can strengthen the foundations of socialism and lead to its complete victory. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 342 and 343)

To achieve this goal a state-owned, socialist, large-scale industry had to be established. Machines and large quantities of fuel and food were necessary. But that was not possible for the moment. To supply adequate food to industrial workers, the situation of the peasants had to be improved and their productive forces raised first. To satisfy the most urgent industrial needs of the peasants it was first necessary to restore small-scale industry, since this does not require complicated machinery. Free trade had to be allowed in order to exchange the simple industrial products for agricultural products.

In conjunction with these measures the previous surplus appropriation system was replaced by introducing the tax in kind. These far-reaching economic changes were termed New Economic Policy (NEP). Born out of need, this economic policy favoring a temporary petty-bourgeois development opened a back door to capitalism.

Lenin asked, "What is to be the effect of all this?" and replied in all candor:

It is the revival of the petty bourgeoisie and of capitalism on the basis of some freedom of trade (if only local). That much is certain....

It is an incontrovertible truth, elementary to political economy, which even the layman's everyday experience will confirm, that once you have exchange the small economy is bound to develop the petty-bourgeois-capitalist way. (*ibid.*, pp. 343 and 344)

The risk had to be accepted. In a way it was a retreat, a retreat necessitated by the ruined economy. But it was not only a retreat. What was the main task of the New Economic Policy? Lenin explained it in his Political Report to the XIth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.):

the problem of the New Economic Policy, the fundamental, decisive and overriding problem, is to establish a link between the new economy that we have begun to create (very badly, very clumsily, but

have nevertheless begun to create, on the basis of an entirely new, socialist economy, of a new system of production and distribution) and the peasant economy, by which millions and millions of peasants obtain their livelihood....

... that if we appreciate the enormous danger harbored by NEP and concentrate all our forces on its weak points, we shall solve this problem. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 269 and 271)

To counter this danger it was essential to keep the development of capitalism under the control of the proletarian state. This capitalism under state control was termed "state capitalism." Lenin emphasized the importance of finding the right methods:

The alternative (and this is the only sensible and the last *possible* policy) is not to try to prohibit or put the lock on the development of capitalism, but to channel it into *state capitalism.* (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 344)

It was to be a transitional form, so that state capitalism could be transformed into socialism as soon as possible. Typical of state capitalism are the concessions to foreign capitalists. For the purpose of quickly building up a large-scale industry, agreements were concluded with foreign capitalists for establishing large plants or developing raw material sources over a certain period. The proletarian state held a 51 percent share, the foreign capitalist 49 percent in such an agreement. These concessions had advantages for both sides. Lenin explained this very clearly and candidly in the pamphlet *The Tax in Kind*:

The concessionaire is a capitalist. He conducts his business on capitalist lines, for profit, and is willing to enter into an agreement with the proletarian government in order to obtain superprofits or raw materials which he cannot otherwise obtain, or can obtain only with great difficulty. Soviet power gains by the development of the productive forces, and by securing an increased quantity of goods immediately, or within a very short period....

By "implanting" state capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet government strengthens large-scale production as against petty production, advanced production as against backward production, and machine production as against hand production. It also ob-

tains a larger quantity of the products of large-scale industry (its share of the output), and strengthens state-regulated economic relations as against the anarchy of petty-bourgeois relations....

The scale and the conditions under which concessions cease to be a danger and are turned to our advantage depend on the relation of forces and are decided in the struggle, for concessions are also a form of struggle, and are a continuation of the class struggle in another form, and in no circumstances are they a substitute of class peace for class war. Practice will determine the methods of struggle. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 345 and 346)

It is quite plain from this that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were entirely aware of the dangers of NEP. It was a new kind of class struggle, and, from the start, the question was: "Who masters whom?" Lenin's standpoint then was that it was necessary to point out to the masses very clearly the danger of the restoration of capitalism, and to openly declare that NEP was a temporary retreat. He emphasized:

The more conscious, the more unanimous, the more free from prejudice we are in carrying out this necessary retreat, the sooner shall we be able to stop it, and the more lasting, speedy and extensive will be our subsequent victorious advance. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 116)

Confident of victory, Lenin declared in the face of all the opportunistic elements in the Party, who only saw retreat in NEP, that NEP was the starting point for a new socialist upsurge. At the XIth Party Congress (March, 1922) Lenin was already able to assert:

For a year we have been retreating. On behalf of the Party we must now call a halt. The purpose pursued by the retreat has been achieved. This period is drawing, or has drawn, to a close. We now have a different objective, that of regrouping our forces. (*ibid.*, p. 280)

And regroup forces they did, and built up socialism step by step, despite all the backwardness of the country and of the majority of the population, despite all the dangers emanating from domestic and foreign capitalism, despite sabotage and counterrevolutionary machinations, and despite the obstructionism of the Trotskyites and

other oppositional forces in the apparatus of Party, state and economy. Now if one compares Lenin's New Economic Policy with the New Economic System of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, one can find no agreement whatsoever.

Lenin's NEP was conditioned by the destruction of production facilities during the war and civil war, by the ruined economy, by counterrevolutionary sabotage, by the now untenable policy of "war communism," by the hardships and misery of the masses, by hunger and destitution on the one hand and speculation and profiteering on the other. An end had to be put to this desperate situation as quickly as possible by making concessions to the proprietors of small-scale industry and to the farmers in the direction of production on a private basis and free trade. In keeping with the situation, the reconstruction of large-scale industry and the tapping of raw material sources could only be undertaken by enlisting the services of foreign capital with grants of concessions. This was a forced retreat occasioned by serious difficulties.

The New Economic System of the revisionists was initiated at a time that the reconstruction of areas of the Soviet Union ravaged in World War II had already been completed. Large-scale industry in nonoccupied areas not only remained unscathed but provided the basis for speedier rebuilding of ruined factories.

Accordingly, the introduction of the New Economic System was not conditioned by an economic emergency. On the contrary, the economic foundation was healthy and strong. The restoration of capitalism consequently was not a tactical retreat but the abandonment of socialism.

In NEP the development of capitalism was directed into the channels of state capitalism and subject to the control of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The granting of concessions to capitalists was based on agreements of specified duration. The large-scale factories which were built became entirely owned by the socialist state after several years. Private industrial and agricultural production and free trade were also measures of limited duration. They were succeeded by cooperative production and state-directed trade.

The New Economic System of the revisionists is not subject to the

control of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was abolished beforehand and supplanted by the rule of a new bourgeois class. The introduction of the new type of capitalism is not intended as a temporary measure, but as a permanent institution, and is long from complete.

A section of the Soviet economists is of the opinion that the "economic reform" is approaching completion. Most of them, however, affirm that the introduction of new indices and the methods of material incentives are merely the organizational and methodical foundation for work.

> This group is also of the view that the economic reform will go on for many years yet, and that the favorable results which are already being noted today only indicate the beginnings of that effectivity inherent in economic management, which Soviet industry and commerce are justified in expecting from the reform. In my opinion the second position is more in line with the facts.

This was stated by Soviet professor of economics Birman in the article "Im vierten Jahr der Wirtschaftsreform" ("In the fourth year of economic reform") in the magazine *Sowjetunion heute* of September 16, 1969. According to this, the capitalist development in the Soviet Union has far from peaked.

NEP served to improve the situation of the entire populace. To get more food, the peasants had to be helped first, which was done by promoting small industry and allowing free trade.

By contrast the New Economic System serves to secure the bourgeois lifestyle and privileges of the new bourgeoisie by intensifying exploitation of the working class and procuring maximum profits. Just as in private capitalism, the tool to achieve this is material incentives, which spur people to maximum performance.

NEP as a retreat implied the danger of restoration of capitalism. Lenin considered it his duty to point out this danger to the masses in all clarity and to organize control from below by the masses. Control and exercise of power by the working class assured that the danger was gradually eliminated and the further construction of socialism secured.

The New Economic System as an expression of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was obscured by the revisionist leadership. The true significance of this measure was hidden from the masses, and the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat was masked with the slogan "state of the whole people."

A fundamental difference exists between Lenin's NEP as risk of restoration of capitalism and the revisionists' NES as means of accomplishing the restoration of capitalism.

A fundamental difference also exists between NEP under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the control of the masses on the one hand and NES under the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie and the control of the bureaucracy on the other.

A fundamental difference exists between NEP, for satisfying the needs of the whole society, and NES, for preserving and extending the privileges of the new bureaucratic-capitalist class; and not only a difference, but an irreconcilable contradiction — the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, to be precise.

The Exploitation of the Soviet Working Class is Intensified

According to Soviet figures, by the end of 1969 36,000 industrial enterprises were operating under the capitalist New Economic System. These enterprises accounted in 1969 for 83.6 percent of production and more than 91 percent of profits. In the five-year period 1971-1975 it is planned, according to Kosygin's report at the XXIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U., to

> complete the conversion to the new system of planning and stimulation of all enterprises and organizations working on the profit-and-loss principle in all fields of material production and in the service sector. (*Directives of the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U. for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975. A Report by Alexei Kosygin*, p. 54)

The 1969 statistical yearbook *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 godu*, page 742, and the 1972 yearbook, page 466, tell us that, in 1968, 13 percent and, in 1971, 14 percent of all profits obtained in state-owned enterprises were put into the material stimulation funds. As

late as 1960 it was only 5 percent.It must be noted, however, that these figures refer to all enterprises, i.e., also to those in which the system has not yet been introduced. In the "model enterprises" of the economic reform, in particular, a far larger share of the profits is used for incentives, in many cases as much as 50 percent. Whereas in 1969 (according to the same source), on average, 61 percent of profits were transferred to the state, "progressive" industrial combines like the Lomo and Svetlana combines in Leningrad were transferring only 24.5 and 36.6 percent, respectively, in the same year (*Voprosy Ekonomiki* No. 11, 1970).

The author of the *Voprosy* article considers these figures still too high. Instead of transferring so much to state funds they should be paying more into the production development funds. So it can be assumed with certainty that, as the reform continues, ever greater parts of the profit will remain in the enterprises, going primarily to the stimulation fund.

The entire revisionist press describes the economic reform as a great success and makes new proposals every day how to restore capitalism even more comprehensively, how to boost profits even more, and how to make the carrot and stick system more effective. The Soviet revisionists have calculated that "an increase of just one percent in labor productivity results in additional annual output with a value of about 3.5 billion rubles" (*Sowjetunion heute*, 16 April 1971).

To ensure as much free rein as possible for the "initiatives" of the directors, the 1966 "regulations on state-owned manufacturing enterprises" even give factories the right to sell "excess" machines, transportation equipment, raw materials et cetera on their own. They thus can readily convert means of production allocated to them by the state into money. Markets for means of production were established in Gorki and Sverdlovsk a number of years ago, where representatives of enterprises throughout the Soviet Union come together to buy and sell state property. Under these conditions, means of production not seldom come into the possession of private persons who use them to set up "underground factories."

Yet the revisionists are not completely satisfied with the current "economic reform." They now experiment with new methods for

spiraling profits. Recently, the "experiment of Shchekino" has particularly drawn the attention and elicited the enthusiasm of the new bourgeoisie. It began in the chemical combine of Shchekino in 1967 and has meanwhile spread to hundreds of enterprises.

The whole thing is quite simple. While Soviet law stipulates that in the event of permanent layoffs the state-determined wage fund is automatically reduced in proportion, enterprises operating on the lines of the Shchekino experiment are permitted to retain the wage fund unchanged even after layoffs and to use the additional money for material incentives.

With this new source of enrichment in mind, management laid off workers in droves in the shortest possible time in order to pocket their wages. The remaining workers had to increase their output accordingly, learn new jobs in many instances or acquire additional qualifications in some other way.

> A decision was made to introduce premiums for those who qualified themselves to the extent that **they were able to work at a second, additional job in the factory or take over operation of additional apparatuses and machines.** (*Sowjetunion heute* of December 16, 1969; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Mechanics, for example, took over the operation and supervision of equipment. This amounted to raising labor productivity chiefly through increased exertion of human labor power. The capitalist factory directors had the cunning to spur the workers to higher performance by threats of dismissal and promises of wage increases from the incentive funds, so that production in the enterprises concerned rose sharply despite layoffs.

We let P. Sharov, director of the chemical combine of Shchekino, speak for his experiment in capitalist exploitation. In *Pravda* of November 30, 1968, he wrote:

> It has turned out that some 800 workers and 230 engineers and technicians can be made redundant by the end of the five-year planning period while systematically increasing output in the combine by 70 percent. This means annual savings of about one million rubles in wages. But since the conditions of the experiment are that the fund

remains constant until the end of the planning period and is at the disposal of the enterprises, the workforce profits considerably.

Now what about this "considerable profit" for the workforce? Sharov is so kind as to tell us frankly:

> **The burden on the workers and the intensity of work have increased appreciably.** Has this disadvantaged the employees materially? Not at all. More than 1,300 employees receive bonuses in addition to their standard wages and salaries for performing more extensive duties or several functions simultaneously. 15,200 rubles per month are spent for these bonuses. The bonuses reach 30 percent of the standard wage or salary. For repairmen they come to as much as 20 percent of wages. Fewer people are employed, **but work makes better progress.** (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Does the increased income compensate for the speedup? Judging by *Sowjetunion heute* of December 16, 1969, it does not quite seem so. Through January 1, 1969, production in Shchekino had increased by 73.3 percent compared with 1966; labor productivity by 87 percent. In the same period, wages and salaries rose by an average of only 24.5 percent. In a little more than a year, 800 employees were laid off. The "incentives" for the workers are in no relation to the growing speed and intensity of work and the exhaustion of their labor power.

It was the same in other enterprises practicing this experiment. A factory in Omsk decided to lay off 1,300 employees in three years. Those remaining must raise output by 40 percent and the productivity of their labor by 47 percent. But only a 27 percent increase in wage rates is planned. (*Pravda* of February 14, 1970)

It is remarkable that Soviet propaganda makes no secret of this wage exploitation. On the contrary, it presents this as a splendid example of "socialism" and laments that the increase in labor productivity supposedly lags behind the wage increases in many enterprises. Isn't this pure capitalist logic?

Many Soviet machines, especially tractors, cranes, mining machinery and machine tools, are a danger to the safety and health of the workers because of "major design flaws," according to the trade-union organ *Trud*. (*Trud* of June 26, 1969)

The designers concentrate on the performance of a machine and neglect safety. (*Trud* of May 12, 1970)

Many more accidents are attributable to the acute lack of protective headgear, gas masks, retaining straps for construction workers and the like. (*Trud* of May 24, 1970)

Even worse off than the workers subjected to the speedups are those workers who have lost their jobs due to capitalist rationalization. Even Sharov admits in the article quoted above that "not every laid off worker could be given a new job in another factory."

Many a worker had to move to another town to get a job, which, in view of the catastrophic housing shortage in the Soviet Union, is anything but pleasant. It is not said whether the workers still earn as much as they did before. Sharov merely makes the cynical remark:

> It is not at all easy to get someone to change his job and take on a new function without spoiling his good mood.

One cannot help but asking what it will be like when the conditions of the experiment are applied to all factories in the Soviet Union. The day will come when most of the "redundant" workers can no longer be placed in other enterprises. This is even admitted by the Soviet economist Professor Birman, who wrote in *Sowjetunion heute* of September 16, 1969:

> The manpower problem is also a subject of controversy. Some Soviet economic experts think there will be a scarcity of labor, especially skilled labor, in the Soviet Union in the near future. Others, to whom I belong, are convinced there will be a surplus of labor.

Once capitalist laws are introduced they operate with all their consequences. In Novokuznetsk, an industrial town in Siberia with half a million inhabitants, five percent of the adult population is constantly searching for a job (*Komsomolskaya Pravda* of November 20, 1969). In Yugoslavia, where the restoration of capitalism began earliest and all the accompanying capitalist symptoms occur, over 300,000 people are permanently unemployed. The revisionist Tito clique is now so unscrupulous that it makes Yugoslavian workers available to foreign capitalists for exploitation. For example, 500,000 Yugoslavian

workers are employed in West Germany alone. Together, far over 800,000 workers have thus been eliminated from the production process in Yugoslavia.

The Shchekino experiment offers the new capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union excellent prospects for squeezing yet greater profits out of the Soviet workers. For the Soviet proletariat, on the other hand, it draws an even sharper picture of the dismal prospects of capitalist restoration: speedup, fear of losing one's job, unemployment. Where the capitalist profit principle is reintroduced, the revival of all the evils of capitalism must be expected for sure.

The importance which the Soviet leadership attaches to the Shchekino experiment is clear from the following words of Brezhnev at the XXIVth Party Congress:

> It would be expedient, as the experience of the Shchekino Chemical Works shows, to provide enterprises with broader possibilities for giving incentives to those workers and collectives of workers who make the largest contribution to the development of production, combine trades and adopt a master-like and thrifty attitude to social wealth. An increase of material incentives must go hand in hand with the promotion of moral incentives for work. (*Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Delivered by L. Brezhnev*, p. 82)

Brezhnev does not comprehend, or does not want to comprehend, that material incentives increasingly alienate the workers from production. Exactly as in private capitalism, the workers in bureaucratic capitalism create the wealth, but the ruling new bourgeois class disposes of it. In the developed socialist economy, the socialist consciousness of the workers is the principal driving force of production. The workers have inner ties to production because work is a need and serves to satisfy the needs of the whole of society. Following the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, material incentives were introduced as principal driving force of production, which has alienated the workers from production, as in private capitalism. Work "is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a *means* to satisfy needs external to it" (Karl Marx: *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, London, 1970, p. 111).

3. The Revisionists Do Away With the Socialist Principle of Distribution

What Objective Does the New System of Material Incentives Pursue?

We have thus far considered the new system of material incentives only from one viewpoint: as a means of changing the role and the essence of profit and of enriching the bourgeois functionaries in the individual enterprises. But that is only one side of the story. After all, material incentives determine not only the salaries of factory directors and the other managerial people, but also the wages and salaries of plain workers and the lower ranks of the salaried employees. Compared with the riches which the bosses appropriate, the workers only get peanuts. But these peanuts make up a substantial part of the individual worker's income.

Pravda of May 17, 1967, cited as typical an enterprise in which the majority of the workers receive bonuses amounting from 40 to 100 percent of their wages. This means that the workers' basic wages are set so low that the workers are absolutely dependent on getting bonuses. The material incentives are thus no luxury, but a necessity. The "special achievements" which the Soviet workers must show for their bonuses are just as obligatory as overtime and similar "voluntary" extra services which workers in our country must perform. Under such conditions, the system of material incentives is a system of compulsion, a system to force the workers to increase their output.

It was emphasized previously that despite all tendencies toward decentralization the new capitalism in the Soviet Union remains above all **state-monopoly capitalism**. The principle source of enrichment of the new bourgeoisie is not the bonuses and profits in the individual enterprises but the central state budget. Kosygin therefore emphasized at the XXIVth Party Congress:

> We regard profit and profitability as important indicators of the effectiveness of production. At the same time, profit is the main source not only of the funds of enterprises and amalgamations operating on the profit-and-loss basis, but also the most important source

of state budget revenue. (*Directives of the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U. for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975. A Report by Alexei Kosygin*, p. 57)

The top-level new bourgeoisie are not the directors and managers who take from the profits of the individual enterprises, but those functionaries, politicians and technocrats in the machinery of Party, state and the economy who sit in Moscow or other centers and skim the cream from the coffers of the state. The luxurious dachas in the suburbs of Moscow or the grand villas in guarded residential areas for notables, "official" cars with private chauffeurs, private clubs, shops reserved for the upper crust, sanatoriums, holiday resorts and luxury housing developments for "academicians" and "scientists" — all these privileges, in addition to the large salaries, are financed by the central budget.

But to maintain their system of exploitation, this bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie needs allies and henchmen. The millions of people who worked **to build socialism** with enthusiasm and a spirit of sacrifice will not work in the same way **for the profits of the bourgeoisie** in the long run. The new bourgeoisie can only keep its system going if it gives its lackeys a share of the profits, if it is able to bind them to the system of profit maximization in some way.

The bribes are primarily for the directors and the leading economic and technical experts in the individual enterprises, since they are the most important link between the central bureaucracy and the enterprises, where the values and profits are produced. Consequently, they are the most important allies of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. To keep a tight grip on them, the revisionist rulers adopted from socialism the system of *nomenklatura*, the direct appointment of the most important factory directors by the Party leadership. In socialism, this is a means for the Party of the proletariat to control the economy. Today, under the new capitalism, it is a means of keeping the economy firmly in the clutches of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and their henchmen. At the same time, the living standard of the common bureaucrats and technocrats is brought closer to that of the monopoly bourgeoisie by allowing them to put an increasingly larger share of the profits realized in "their"

factories into their own pockets.

The local economic leaders are the main allies of the new monopoly bourgeoisie. And even if they often overdo things and secretly enrich themselves with moneys intended for the top bosses, by and large they serve as reliable accomplices who the new bourgeoisie needs to secures its rule.

Who does the new monopoly bourgeoisie fear? The working class. It was Soviet workers who carried out the great October Revolution under the banner of Lenin, who beat back the fascist aggressors under the banner of Stalin. To subjugate the working class, the new monopoly bourgeoisie employs every means from deception to open terror. To punish infringements of labor discipline, article 56 of the labor law of July 15, 1970, provides for the following measures (among others): transfer to lower-paid work, withdrawal of bonuses and privileges, less favorable treatment in the allocation of apartments and entitlements to accommodations in vacation homes and sanatoriums; discrimination in regard to other benefits of the welfare system; serious cases are punished by dismissal and transfer of cases to the courts and the police (*Pravda* of July 17, 1970). On the other hand, the new bourgeoisie unleashes a tremendous demagogy. It tries to pass off its capitalism of a new type as socialism and to put on a communist camouflage. Simultaneously it conducts smear campaigns against the truly socialist countries and the communists. Naturally, it also attempts to bind the workers to the "new system" by throwing them a few chunks of the profit. The revisionists try to bribe and split the workers by letting them share in the profits. This way a small section of the workers is corrupted and becomes a labor aristocracy. Here one example, reported in *Sowjetunion heute* of January 16, 1971. In the article "Resultate neuer Methoden" ("Results of new methods") a skilled worker was allowed to relate the following:

> "I make fairly good earnings," said lathe operator Yuri Karasev from the shaft bearing department. "A variety of bonuses add to my standard wage. Take for example last year. I exceeded target production each month, which brings me 25 percent of monthly wages as bonus. Also, I produced no rejects the whole year over, which brought another 15 percent. For six suggestions for improvements I

received 60 rubles, plus 15 rubles for the application of these suggestions. For the production of new models with new dimensions I was paid an additional bonus of 50 rubles. When our products were awarded the state quality seal, all the people involved got a bonus of 25 rubles. In 1970, the factory gave me an apartment in a new house. I spent my vacation in the factory's own holiday house with my wife and our son. I only had to pay 40 rubles for the health cure checks, which cost 120 rubles as a rule. The trade union paid the rest. All together, last year I received about 1,000 rubles in bonuses, allowances and benefits in kind, in addition to my regular wages."

"That is one example that stands for many," the article continues. One must take into account that the average monthly wages in the next five-year planning period will come to all of 150 rubles. The creation of a labor aristocracy in the U.S.S.R. is intended to fulfill one purpose: to split the working class.

The same purpose is served by the complicated 24-level wage system (see Table 2). According to these statistics, the lowest basic wage is about 48 rubles per month. The minimum wage including bonus was 60 rubles per month up until the XXIVth Party Congress, which decided to raise it to 70 rubles (the equivalent of DM 280).

However, this was not to take place immediately, but, as Kosygin announced at the XXIVth Party Congress, piecemeal:

- in 1971 for workers and office employees in the railway system,
- in 1972 for those in the Far North, the Far East, in Eastern and Western Siberia, and in the Urals;
- in 1973 for those in Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Volga area, the Volga-Vyatka district and the Donets basin;
- in 1974 for workers and office employees in all other areas.

In 1975 "the process of introducing the new wage minimum and increasing the basic wages and salaries of middle-bracket workers and employees is to be fully completed...." (Kosygin).

During the current five-year plan (1971-1975), according to Brezhnev's report to the XXIVth Party Congress, "the average monthly wage of workers and office employees will rise to 146-149 rubles [584-596 DM - The Editors] and the remuneration of collective farmers' labor to 98 rubles [392 DM - The Editors]" (*Report of the*

TABLE 2
Pay Grade

Basic hourly wages in kopecks for 7-hour day	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Ratio of increase	1.0	1.13	1.29	1.48	1.72	2.0
Timeworkers in "cold" enterprises	27.5	31.1	35.5	40.7	47.3	55.0
Pieceworkers in "cold" and timeworkers in "hot" enterprises, or workers who do strenuous work under adverse conditions	32.0	36.2	41.3	47.4	55.0	64.0
Pieceworkers in "hot" enterprises, or workers who work under difficult, unfavorable conditions, and timeworkers who work under especially difficult and unfavorable conditions	36.7	41.5	47.3	54.3	63.1	73.4
Pieceworkers who work under especially difficult and unfavorable conditions	39.0	44.1	50.3	57.7	67.0	78.0

Source: A. Omarov: *Organisation of Industry and Construction in the USSR*, Moscow, 1971, p. 101

CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Delivered by L. Brezhnev, p. 51).

Although comparisons with wages in the capitalist West are not easy (unless converted into real wages based on purchasing power in the different countries), the wages of the workers and the salaries of

the lower "white-collar" employees are so low that they have been an encouragement to material incentives — particularly owing to the emphasis on material incentives as sole stimulus.

To carry through the restoration of capitalism more smoothly, material incentives were coupled with pursuit of profit. The higher the profit, the more money for the material incentive fund. A. Omarov confirms this in his book cited above:

> For every percent increase in profit (sales) over the previous year, and for every percent increase in earnings in excess of the target, a certain portion of the profit, which is fixed in the enterprise's annual finance plan, is transferred to the "incentive fund"....
>
> If the planned profit and sales figures are not attained, the payments to the "incentive fund" are reduced by a certain percentage....

Classification in 24 wage levels (see Table 2) is not in the interest of the workers. The working-class movement has always fought against the large number of wage levels in the capitalist countries. The more wage levels, the more complicated and confusing the wage system and the easier it is to play off one worker against the other, to stick unloved workers with low wage classifications. In short, the more wage levels, the easier the exploitation.

Material Incentives — a Means of Corrupting the Workers

The socialist principle of distribution is summarized in the familiar slogan: **"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."** In Karl Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* we read:

> Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society — after the deductions have been made — exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labor. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labor time of the individual producer is part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labor (after deducting his labor for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as costs the same amount of labor. The same

amount of labor which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 17 and 18)

As long as we find ourselves in the first phase of communism, as long as the productive forces are not so developed yet that all people's requirements can be met, and as long as there are still remnants of bourgeois thinking, idlers and swindlers, the distribution of consumer goods according to the work done by the individual is the only possible principle of distribution.

In communist society, on the other hand, "after labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want" and "all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly," the transition can be made to the communist principle of distribution: **"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"** (*ibid.*, p. 19).

Though it is one of the principal tasks of the phase of socialism to educate the workers in the new, communist labor morale and to advance gradually to the communist principle of distribution, payment for labor based on the amount of work performed by the individual is retained as the chief principle in socialism. Above all, it is necessary to prevent individuals or groups of the working people from acquiring privileges or suffering discrimination which is determined neither by the amount of their work nor by their specific needs.

In the socialist Soviet Union methods were employed to adjust wages to the actual output of individual workers as precisely as possible. Accordingly, hourly wages were generally replaced by piece rates. But a system of bonuses was also introduced, albeit on a very limited scale, to ensure that workers who did additional work received appropriate additional pay. Such bonuses depended on the actual output of the individual workers and thus reinforced the socialist principle of distribution.

The modern revisionists with their 'new system of material stimulation' frequently cite the socialist principle of distribution, point out that 'there have always been' unequal wages, and even bonuses, and that the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism had polemicized against petty-bourgeois egalitarianism. Nevertheless, we can easily see that the New Economic System does not have the least to do with

the socialist principle of distribution. For as we have seen, today the size of the 'material interest fund,' and thus the bonus for the individual worker, no longer depends mainly on individual performance — not even on the gross output of the collective — but on the **profit,** the **profitableness** of the enterprise involved. So it is no longer the worker who works more and better who gets a higher bonus, but the worker who works in a profitable enterprise.

It is perfectly possible — and very often is the case — that two workers receive entirely different wages for exactly the same work, just because one of them works in a more modernly equipped and thus more profitable factory, or simply because the director of the factory has less scruples and is better able to play the keys of the new capitalist system to raise profits one way or the other.

A typical example of the grave consequences of the destruction of the socialist principle of distribution is the problem of labor turnover, which the Soviet press has lamented over for years. If one can get more money for exactly the same work in another, more profitable factory, it is clear that the workers stream from the less profitable to the more profitable enterprises. On January 20, 1971, *Pravda* published a long article entitled "Why does someone leave his job?" Among other things, we read here:

> The rate of turnover existing under present conditions, where the workforces of many enterprises are replaced every three or four years, cannot be considered normal. Of course, this renewal is not absolute, but statistical in nature. The majority of workers and salaried people work in the same place for many years. But there are also people who change jobs several times a year.

The reasons for this fluctuation are not entirely unknown to the author:

> Those cases can hardly be considered justified in which wage rate and performance standards differ for one and the same work in very similar neighboring enterprises.... There is talk of eliminating the differences in norms and pay scale which enable workers to increase their wages when they change to another factory. But this correct idea is far from being easy to put into practice since its realization meets

with a number of objective obstacles.

For one thing, scientific and technological progress does not reach all spheres of production simultaneously and in the same degree, and that is the reason for differing conditions of work. For another, in each particular period the necessity arises to concentrate efforts on the key sections of the economy by stimulating the flow of labor to them with certain privileges. **And finally, to the extent in which the economic reform makes the scope of the material benefits received by each person dependent on the success of the work of the collective, differences in the payment for work and in the degree of satisfaction of cultural requirements also emerge.** (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

This goes so far that factory directors hire away workers and salaried employees from each other just like in the capitalist West. The above article says about this:

Other managers endeavor to raise wages above the socially necessary level to attract labor, and succeed for a time in getting an influx of people. But then pay is raised in the other factories and the countermovement begins. In short, someone begins to entice personnel away from the neighbor.

These passages are very informative as far as the thinking of the official revisionist hacks is concerned. Although he clearly brings out the connection between labor turnover and "economic reform," i.e., the restoration of capitalism, the author does not think for a moment of calling the reform in question. Instead he tries to lay the blame partly on individual directors with their "abnormal" practices, but mainly on the workers who go from one factory to another "only" to increase their wages. He sees the solution to the problem, on the one hand, in taking measures against workers who change jobs frequently, and on the other hand, in "motivating" them to remain at their jobs with new incentives. They consist in making "different kinds of privileges dependent on the length of employment in a factory."

Such measures do not change anything about the true cause of this fluctuation, namely, the abolition of the socialist principles "equal wages for equal work" and "to each according to his work."

The new system of material incentives pursues no objective other than to bind the workers to the new profit-oriented economic system by gearing their personal incomes to the profit of their enterprise. The revisionists' design is to corrupt the workers, or at least a part of the workers, by bribing them with a few scraps from the table of capitalist profit, to get them, too, interested in profit maximization. They try to create a basis in the working class for the restoration of capitalism by promising the workers personal advantage from profit maximization.

The revisionists even cherish the dream that with the new system of material incentives they might interest the workers in intensifying capitalist exploitation.

> "But one might also ask," as Georgi Sofonov writes in *Sowjetunion heute* of August 16, 1970, "if the employees of a factory have any interest at all in the realization of innovative suggestions or the application of inventions in their factory, **the result of which would be that existing performance standards are increased and workers possibly become redundant.**" (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

He assures us that the workforce takes an interest because it cuts production cost and boosts factory profit, because "every employee, from the director to the youngest helper, participates in this profit." Certainly, but with the slight difference that the youngest helper takes home the minimum wage of 60 to 70 rubles each month, while the director pockets several thousand rubles. And he gets the lion's share of the quarterly bonus, the helper only a minimum share. To improve his wretched wages a little, the youngest helper, like most workers and the inferior salaried personnel, is forced to raise his norm again and again so that profit and bonuses rise. This is genuine capitalist exploitation and has nothing to do with the socialist principle of work and distribution. If in spite of everything appropriate bonuses are no longer "in it" for poorly paid workers, they lose interest in "their" enterprise and change their place of work.

It goes without saying that the revisionists have a demagogic, roundabout way of expressing the abolition of the socialist principle of distribution. B. Sukharevski remarks in *World Marxist Review*

(*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) No. 8, 1970:

> In the new system "to a far greater extent than before, the worker's performance is measured not only by his own contribution, but by that of the entire collective."

Or, as Brezhnev says in his report to the XXIIIrd Congress of the C.P.S.U.:

> It is "therefore, quite logical that in addition to giving a material stimulus to each worker in accordance with his own personal labor, the entire staff is given material interest in the end results of the factory's work. This will make it possible to combine **personal and public interests.**" (*23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 72; emphasis added by us - The Editors))

The cheek which Brezhnev shows in simply equating the interests of enterprises, i.e., the profit interests of the capitalist factory directors, with **social** interests is remarkable. If the workers are interested in "the end results of the factory's work," i.e., in raising profits, then their personal interests and the interests of **society** are "combined"! This is an honest definition of what the revisionists mean by "social interests," isn't it?

It is general knowledge that the capitalists have always tried to pacify the workers with various "profit sharing" schemes, to poison their minds with the capitalistic credo of rivalry and profit, and to chain them to the capitalist system. For example, leading traitors to the workers at the top levels of the trade unions are offered well-paid positions on supervisory boards. At the same time, in many companies a few puny employee shares are made available to the workers to make them believe that increasing profit will also benefit them.

The Tito clique attempts exactly the same thing with their infamous swindle, so-called workers' self-management. In a 1968 speech of W. Ulbricht, "Die Bedeutung und die Lebenskraft der Lehren von Karl Marx für unsere Zeit" ("The significance and vitality of the teachings of Karl Marx in our time"), it comes out clearly that Brezhnev's New Economic System is merely a poorly disguised copy of the Titoist "workers' self-management." Ulbricht expresses the view that the new system of material interest which the S.E.D. (So-

cialist Unity Party) leadership has adopted from the Soviet revisionists will ensure

> that every working person can, and in practice does, exercise his function as owner of the means of production, as co-proprietor of the enterprise, combine, or association of publicly owned enterprises, in a way that is palpable to him.

In socialism, however, the **entire** working class is owner of **all** the means of production. The workforce of each individual enterprise is not its owner. Lenin vigorously opposed this anarcho-syndicalist idea because its effect is to divide the working class and play off workers of different enterprises against each other. In "The Democratism and Socialist Nature of Soviet Power" Lenin unequivocally states:

> that any direct or indirect legalization of the rights of ownership of the workers of any given factory or any given trade on their particular production, or of their right to weaken or impede the orders of the state authority, is a flagrant distortion of the basic principles of Soviet power and a complete rejection of socialism.... (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 100)

The new system of material incentives amounts exactly to that. The workers are to be bound to the individual enterprise. They should no longer see themselves as owners of all social wealth, but as stockholders of the factory in which they work, whose material well-being depends on the factory's prosperity.

So we see that for the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie to sustain their new capitalist system it does not suffice to buy the individual factory directors and the upper-level engineers and salaried employees with profit shares. They must also begin to disorient the workers with the bourgeois spirit of pursuit of profit, to split the working class and play off the workers of the individual enterprises against each other. They endeavor further, as in any other capitalist system, to undermine the solidarity of the workers, to restrain the working people from revolutionary struggle. The idea is that the workers should struggle against each other competing for higher bonuses. They are supposed to regard wresting a crumb or two from

the profit as the highest ideal and forget the struggle against the new bourgeoisie, the struggle for communism. That is the pipe dream at the root of the new system of material incentives.

4. The Revisionists Supplant the Socialist Principle of Labor Productivity by the Capitalist Principle

Raising Labor Productivity in Capitalism and in Socialism

One economic law holds for all modes of production alike: **the law of the economy of time.** Labor can be made more productive by taking proper advantage of this law. Marx explains this in the following words in his work *Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*:

> On the basis of communal production, the determination of time remains, of course, essential. The less time the society requires to produce wheat, cattle etc., the more time it wins for other production, material or mental. Just as in the case of an individual, the multiplicity of its development, its enjoyment and its activity depends on economization of time. Economy of time, to this all economy ultimately reduces itself. Society likewise has to distribute its time in a purposeful way, in order to achieve a production adequate to its overall needs; just as the individual has to distribute his time correctly in order to achieve knowledge in proper proportions or in order to satisfy the various demands on his activity. Thus, economy of time, along with the planned distribution of labor time among the various branches of production, remains the first economic law on the basis of communal production. It becomes law, there, to an even higher degree. (Karl Marx: *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy [Rough Draft].* London, 1973)

This law applies to all spheres of social labor, above all to the production of social goods. It is expressed in the increase of the productivity of labor, which is the chief source of the increase of national income.

What does it mean to raise labor productivity? What is the difference between labor productivity gains in capitalism and in socialism? It is necessary to clarify these points.

A gain in labor productivity is generally understood to mean an increase in the output of a worker in a certain period of time, for example, a working hour, a working day or a year. Usually the average increase of total production within a year and the entire workforce of a factory, a branch of industry, or the entire industry of a country are the basis for calculation. Considerable differences are to be found. For example, the increase in productivity in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1970 (compared with the previous year) was 8.7 percent in refineries, 5.7 percent in the furniture industry, 4.1 percent in the rubber industry, but only 0.9 percent in the auto industry, where extensive automation had already been introduced in earlier years. Things were different years before when the auto industry was going through rapid technological change which resulted in enormous gains in labor productivity. Klaus Jelonneck reported in the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) newspaper *Welt der Arbeit* on September 8, 1961:

> Owing to the installation of transfer lines the output per worker and shift, for example, of pistons, increased by 1,752 percent; of gearbox cases, by 1,102 percent. In a southern German factory which makes screw cores, the thread used to be pressed on the core with manually operated machines. A single female worker produced about 2,000 in one shift. Today the automatic machine makes 60,000. Output per worker per shift thus increased to 3,000 percent, if we set the output of the manual presser equal to 100. Replacement of conventional lathes by autolathes has had a similar effect. Here, outputs of 400 to 500 percent per worker and shift are possible....

Such tremendous productivity gains through automation can hardly be repeated. They were brought about by a leap in the development of the production apparatus. The production methods were improved at the same time. Improving equipment and manufacturing methods to obtain higher output is called rationalization.

Rationalization is a continuous process in all industries. The much-used term "rationalization" is derived from the Latin word *ratio*, i.e., reason. It is the most important lever for raising labor productivity, the average exertion of labor power remaining constant.

This means:

1. *Raising the productivity of labor through technical advances means increasing the output produced by a certain amount of work in the course of a year without increasing the average intensity of labor.*

   This can be achieved

   a) by introduction of new, improved machines, tools, fixtures and other mechanical devices as well as automation;

   b) by improvement of technological processes and

   c) by perfecting of production methods (organization of labor, specialization, suboperations, assembly line, etc.),

i.e., through technical progress. The quantity of labor needed to produce one unit of production thus diminishes, and the cost of labor is reduced. "The real economic purpose of automation consists in saving wages," the information brochure of a large Austrian bank tells us.

Labor productivity can also be raised without technical advances, by increasing the intensity of labor, i.e., through a faster pace of work. A memorandum of the German Productivity Center (RKW) referred to this possibility in the following words:

> In the more highly developed countries, relatively speaking there is not much more to be gained through further technical development. Through better use of human labor power, on the other hand, more is to be gained than the average entrepreneur has admitted in the past.

This means:

2. *Raising the productivity of labor without changing the means of production means increasing the output obtained in the course of a year by increasing the intensity of labor, i.e. raising the pace of work.*

The general term "productivity increase" does not bring out these two aspects, however. In practice, the two are usually closely related, i.e., a technical improvement goes along with attempts to achieve an even greater cost reduction by raising the intensity of work by reducing the piece rate more than the technical improvement warrants. A clear example of this is the Opel car factory in Bochum, where the speed of the production line can be upped by 30 percent.

Whether technical progress or greater intensity of labor, the result is the same: growth of the quantity of production through the increase of labor productivity. But the basic distinction between the two sides of increasing labor productivity is of greatest importance if we want to characterize the difference between the raising of labor productivity in capitalism and in socialism. What is this difference?

In capitalism the workers are not at all against the development of technology. Without technical progress humanity would have long since starved to death. The continuous development of machinery has relieved the workers of many physically difficult tasks. It has advanced the cultural development of the masses in giant steps and furthered the organization of the working class. The age of the spontaneous rebellion of the machine-wreckers is past. It was a time when the workers stormed the factories and smashed the machines out of desperation, not recognizing the true causes of their misery. The working class discovered that not the machinery, but the appropriation of their social labor by the capitalists is the cause of its misery. Therefore, it does not fight against technical progress but against its consequences. These are the result of capitalist greed for profit, and particularly of the ruthless intensification of labor and the reduction of the labor force (short-time work and unemployment).

To raise the intensity of work the capitalists apply two methods:

1. The workers are coaxed with material incentives to escalate their output to ever higher levels.
2. The workers are pressured or wheedled by various methods to get the greatest possible amount of work out of them.

An example of the use of material incentives is the mechanical engineering industry, where average output in departments which changed from time wages to piece wages increased by 20 percent.

Piece work, whether individual or group piece work, is the most important means of boosting job performance with the incentive of higher wages. When a certain wage level is exceeded, the piece rate is reduced. If the workers concerned accept the wage cut without a fight, not seldom they try to make the loss good by even greater exertions.

Another type of material incentive is the bonus system, which is usually based on monthly output. To obtain as large a bonus as possible, the pace of work is increased rapidly. A material incentive is also created by paying a graduated supplement to the time rate that is hinged to a certain average norm. If this norm is surpassed, a graduated supplement is paid for the extra work in progressive brackets, like this:

Norm = 2 000 pieces/hour = 5.00 DM hourly wage
Additional output = 100 pieces/hour = 0.30 DM extra pay
Additional output = 200 pieces/hour = 0.65 DM extra pay
Additional output = 300 pieces/hour = 1.05 DM extra pay

These ways of applying material incentives are often combined with promises of steady employment, special privileges, pension supplements on retirement, and so on, which are mostly taken back again when economic troubles occur.

But more frequently, pressure, threats of dismissal, or direct coercion by superiors are the methods used. Years ago, as coal stockpiles in the Ruhr district became larger and larger and plans were hatched to shut down mines and lay off workers, a struggle for individual jobs began. Output rose sharply and increased even more when several mines were closed and tens of thousands of miners were laid off. One mining company report for that period tells us that total coal output rose despite mass layoffs. In one year, output per man and shift underground increased from 1,790 kg to 2,117 kg, or by 18 percent. In the meantime, output per shift in the mines which have not yet been shut down has risen to more than 3,000 kg.

The strongest pressure is the fear of unemployment, a fear which is quite justified. "Automation," says an executive of a big American auto company, "is any process which removes a person from production." People in Detroit in the U.S.A. were asked what they associate with the word "automation." 90 percent gave the characteristic reply: "fear." This fear of unemployment drives many workers to work faster and faster, which, of course, has disastrous effects on their health and their lives. In West German industry about one million workers are ill each day. There are 2.5 million to 3 million accidents annually. 91 percent of all accidents in plants and factories are attrib-

utable to workers being "pressed for time," i.e., to the faster pace of work. The newspaper *Textil-Bekleidung* ascertained as early as September 1961: "The work load and the pace of work in the garment industry have taken on dimensions which were hardly imaginable a few years ago." The consequence is disabilities and shorter life expectancies.

In summary we can say that labor productivity gains in capitalism can be attributed to the capitalists' pursuit of profit, since they are the most important source of huge profits. We can also say that the increase of labor productivity has detrimental effects on the workers, because it reduces wages, fosters fear of job loss, worsens working conditions, and has disastrous effects on health and life of the workers. This is due above all to the increased intensity of labor as a result of material incentives, promises and pressures applied by the capitalists. Under these circumstances the working class can have no interest in raising labor productivity. Although the working class does not object to technological progress in itself, experience teaches it that improvements in machinery and technique in capitalism always involve more intensive exertion of labor power, greater exploitation of labor power, and that the advantages which come from raising labor productivity serve primarily the capitalists' profit.

In **socialism**, raising the productivity of labor is not the mainspring for production of maximum profit, as it is in capitalism, but serves the well-being of the whole of society, in that, with time, it creates an abundance of goods by constantly raising the total production, and steadily raises the living standard of the population. Not the prosperity of a few or of a ruling clique, as in capitalism, but the prosperity of all working people is the guiding principle of activities in socialism. Stalin spoke on this topic at the XVIIth Congress of the C.P.S.U.

> As for the argument that Bolshevik work and socialism are inconceivable without the existence of the poor, it is so stupid that it is embarrassing even to talk about it. Leninists rely upon the poor when there exist both capitalist elements and the poor who are exploited by the capitalists. But when the capitalist elements have been crushed and the poor have been emancipated from exploitation, the task of

> Leninists is not to perpetuate and preserve poverty and the poor — the conditions for whose existence have already been eliminated — but to abolish poverty and to raise the poor to a life of prosperity. It would be absurd to think that socialism can be built on the basis of poverty and privation, on the basis of reducing personal requirements and lowering the standard of living to the level of the poor, who themselves, moreover, refuse to remain poor any longer and are pushing their way upward to a prosperous life. Who wants this sort of socialism, so-called? It would not be socialism, but a caricature of socialism. Socialism can be built only on the basis of a vigorous growth of the productive forces of society; on the basis of an abundance of produce and goods; on the basis of the prosperity of the working people, on the basis of a vigorous growth of culture. For socialism, Marxist socialism, means not the reduction of individual requirements, but their development to the utmost, to full bloom; not the restriction of these requirements or a refusal to satisfy them, but the full and all-round satisfaction of all the requirements of culturally developed working people. (Stalin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 367)

One must take into account that in an industrially backward country such as czarist Russia was, with largely petty-bourgeois production, and an economy that was laid waste by war and civil war, the construction of a socialist economy represented a gigantic task. All prerequisites for swift construction, in terms of technique and skilled personnel, were lacking. Since the working class lacked experience in running the state, the administrative apparatus and the economy, the young Soviet power found itself in the position of having to win the old bourgeois intelligentsia (primarily the technical people) by material incentives in form of high salaries, luxurious residences, and other privileges, to build up the country's economy and administration.

Above all, economic construction with priority on heavy industry called for rapid development of engineering and technique. The slogan "technique decides everything" was coined. But to master technique, one needs people who know how to apply it. Economic construction urgently required a technical intelligentsia from the ranks of the working class because the old bourgeois intelligentsia was too frequently involved in sabotage. Already during the second

five-year plan Stalin declared in an "Address to Red Army Academy Graduates":

> Formerly, we used to say that "technique decides everything." That slogan helped us to put an end to the dearth of technique and to create a vast technical base in every branch of activity for the equipment of our people with first-class technique. That is very good. But it is not enough, it is not enough by far. In order to set technique going and to utilize it to the full, we need people who have mastered technique, we need cadres capable of mastering and utilizing the technique according to all the rules of the art. Without people who have mastered technique, technique is dead. In the charge of people who have mastered technique, technique can and should perform miracles. If in our first-class mills and factories, in our state farms and collective farms, in our transport system and in our Red Army we had sufficient cadres capable of harnessing this technique, our country would secure results three and four times as great as at present. That is why emphasis must now be laid on people, on cadres, on workers who have mastered technique. That is why the old slogan, "Technique decides everything," which is a reflection of a period already passed, a period in which we suffered from a dearth of technique, must now be replaced by a new slogan, the slogan "Cadres decide everything." That is the main thing now. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, p. 771)

Cadres in socialism are people with socialist consciousness who are not motivated to construct socialism by personal material interest, but to whom it is the greatest need to work hard for the overall interests of society in order to satisfy the material requirements of society as a whole, and by that ultimately also personal needs. This consciousness is founded in the conviction that Marxist-Leninist theory is correct and the victory of socialism is certain.

This socialist consciousness is the driving force for dedicated application of one's physical and mental powers and, in conjunction with ever more improved technique, achieves vast improvements in labor productivity. This is what makes the difference between the growth of labor productivity in socialism and in capitalism. Development of the socialist consciousness of the masses, of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, is the result of ongoing propaganda and

educative work by trained communists, the firmly principled cadres of the Marxist-Leninist Party. We compare once more:

> **The increase of labor productivity in capitalism** is based on the striving of the capitalists for maximum profits, which are obtained by the development of technology in conjunction with increased intensity of labor, the latter being achieved by material incentives and pressure applied in various ways. In short: securing of maximum profits through increased exploitation of labor.
>
> **The increase of labor productivity in socialism** is based on the endeavor to satisfy and raise the material and cultural needs of society as a whole, which is accomplished by constantly improving the level of technology in conjunction with expanding and deepening socialist consciousness as the motivation for work. In short: satisfaction of the growing needs of all working people by highly developed technology in conjunction with the socialist consciousness of the masses.

In the first years following the October Revolution, when the socialist consciousness of the masses showed itself to be relatively weak, it was still necessary to use material incentives as a major lever to raise the productivity of labor in order to get the ravaged economy going again. As socialist construction progresses and communist education to raise socialist consciousness spreads, the principle of material incentives for workers can and must be increasingly replaced by the socialist principle of labor as the prime want.

For this reason, in the period of socialist construction the achievement system predominates: each receives based on the work performed in accordance with his or her abilities. The closer we come to the transition from the phase of socialism to the phase of communism and the stronger socialist consciousness grips the masses, the more labor will develop into the prime want, and greater commitment to work into a matter of honor. The socialist principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," will gradually be replaced by the communist principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union assert that the transition to the second phase of communism has already begun. Accord-

ingly, they should go over to the communist principle of distribution "to each according to his needs" in future. But the measures they take go in the opposite direction and have even, as explained above, done away with the socialist principle of distribution. The development of socialism was not only interrupted by bureaucracy usurping power and abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Logically and consistently, in the further course of events the bureaucracy also completely eradicated the foundations of socialism and introduced their new type of capitalism. By introducing pursuit of profit to secure their own privileges and, in connection with this, using material incentives to raise labor productivity, they paved the way for all-around restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In place of lifting socialist consciousness and promoting public spirit the new bourgeoisie put pursuit of profit and material incentives, thereby promoting egotism and pushing back the socialist consciousness of the masses.

Once capitalist laws are installed, they operate automatically. Material incentives as a means of increasing the intensity of labor serve, as in capitalism, to increase profits, which are mainly used to maintain and enlarge the privileges of, i.e., to enrich, the new bourgeoisie. The workers are allotted a few crumbs of the profit, just as the private capitalists of the Western countries concede the workers a few percent in wage increases or other reforms so that they do not declare war on the capitalist system.

The Application of the Socialist Principle of Labor Productivity under Lenin and Stalin

The rebuilding of the economy following the October Revolution and the Civil War was a difficult task for the young Soviet power. Advanced technology and a technically trained working class, the chief prerequisites for a modern economy, were lacking. Lenin openly addressed this problem in April, 1918 (*The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*):

> The Russian is a bad worker compared with people in advanced countries. It could not be otherwise under the tsarist regime and in

view of the persistence of the hangover from serfdom. The task that the Soviet government must set the people in all its scope is — learn to work. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 259)

Under these circumstances, the socialist principle for raising labor productivity could not be applied in full. There was no choice but to fall back in part on the well-tried capitalist methods of material incentives and labor organization. Lenin thus wrote in the same article:

> The more class-conscious vanguard of the Russian proletariat has already set itself the task of raising labor discipline.... We must raise the question of piece-work and apply and test it in practice; we must raise the question of applying much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system; we must make wages correspond to the total amount of goods turned out, or to the amount of work done by the railways, the water transport system, etc., etc. (*ibid.*, p. 258)

One year later a breakthrough took place in the thinking of many workers in the direction of socialist consciousness. Communist rail workers and sympathizers decided on their own initiative to do voluntary overtime every Saturday and passed the following unanimous resolution:

> In view of the grave domestic and foreign situation, Communists and sympathizers, in order to gain the upper hand over the class enemy, must spur themselves on again and deduct an extra hour from their rest, i.e., lengthen their working day by one hour, accumulate these extra hours and put in six extra hours of manual labor on Saturday for the purpose of creating real values of immediate worth. Since Communists must not grudge their health and life for the gains of the revolution, this work should be performed without pay. *Communist Saturdays* are to be introduced throughout the district and to continue until complete victory over Kolchak has been achieved. (Quoted in: Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 412)

Through enthusiasm and unanimity, labor productivity was doubled and tripled. That was the starting point for launching a great initiative in favor of the communist subbotnik (from *subbota* = Saturday). Lenin saw in these examples of heroic labor for the construction of socialism the great significance of the socialist principle of raising

labor productivity. He enthusiastically wrote:

> In this connection, the *communist subbotniks* organized by the workers on their own initiative are really of enormous significance. Evidently, this is only a beginning, but it is a beginning of exceptionally great importance. It is the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism. Only when *this* victory is consolidated will the new social discipline, socialist discipline, be created; then and only then will a reversion to capitalism become impossible, will communism become really invincible....
>
> As I have had occasion to point out more than once, among other occasions in the speech I delivered at a session of the Petrograd Soviet on March 12, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labor compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable....
>
> "Communist subbotniks" are of such enormous historical significance precisely because they demonstrate the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers in developing the productivity of labor, in adopting a new labor discipline, in creating socialist conditions of economy and life. (Lenin: *A Great Beginning*, in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 411, 419, 423)

The results of the communist subbotniks for boosting labor productivity were not obtained on the basis of higher levels of technology but through the enthusiastic effort of workers of all occupations, in many cases untrained, simple laborers, who brought forth outstanding achievements without material incentive. It was precisely in this that Lenin saw special significance when he emphasized in his above writing:

> The "communist subbotniks" are so important because they were

> initiated by workers who were by no means placed in exceptionally good conditions, by workers of various specialities, and some with no speciality at all, just unskilled laborers, who are living under *ordinary*, i.e., *exceedingly hard*, conditions. (*ibid.*, p. 426)

In this connection Lenin emphasized the importance for socialist construction of raising the productivity of labor:

> In the last analysis, productivity of labor is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system.... Communism is the higher productivity of labor — compared with that existing under capitalism — of voluntary, class-conscious and united workers employing advanced techniques. (*ibid.*, p. 427)

The development of socialist consciousness is consequently the decisive propellant for the construction of socialism. The bureaucracy, which had settled not only in the economic apparatus but in the apparatus of state and Party as well, hindered such a development with its petty-bourgeois attitudes.

In the 1930's a new movement from the ranks of the working class broke through these petty-bourgeois, bureaucratic obstructions to the accelerated construction of socialism: the Stakhanov movement. Despite all difficulties and overt and covert sabotage, the productive forces had developed to a remarkable level. New, modern techniques and advanced skilled workers were the foundation of this new movement, in contrast to the old movement of communist subbotniks, in which technology and skilled workers had not yet been developed. Stakhanov and other trained workers smashed the old norms and boosted labor productivity five- and tenfold. What kind of workers were they? Stalin described them in his speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites:

> They are free of the conservatism and stagnation of certain engineers, technicians and economic executives, they are marching boldly forward, smashing the antiquated technical standards and creating new and higher standards; they are introducing amendments into the designed capacities and economic plans drawn up by the leaders of our industry; they often supplement and correct what the engineers and technicians have to say, they often teach them and impel them

> forward, for they are people who have completely mastered the technique of their job and who are able to squeeze out of technique the maximum that can be squeezed out of it....
>
> What first of all strikes the eye is the fact that this movement began somehow of itself, almost spontaneously, from below, without any pressure whatsoever from the administrators of our enterprises. More than that — this movement in a way arose and began to develop in spite of the administrators of our enterprises, even in opposition to them. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, pp. 780 and 781)

The Stakhanov movement quickly spread throughout the Soviet Union. That would not have been possible had material incentives served as basis. Only people with socialist consciousness were capable of such achievement. These workers worked not just for themselves but for their class, for the whole of society, for socialism. This demands high class consciousness, socialist consciousness, which the great mass of the workers and peasants did not yet have, however. To produce such consciousness of such depth requires continuous propaganda work, systematic educational work by the Communist Party. Movements like the communist subbotnik and the Stakhanov movement were instrumental in establishing the socialist principle of raising labor productivity. This did not come about without struggle, without intensified class struggle in building socialism. Above all it meant struggling against the bureaucracy, which viewed such a development with malice and hostility. For the great masses of workers and peasants, material incentives in production and distribution according to work were still prevalent. But with the growth of socialist consciousness and the advance of socialist construction, the principle of material incentives had to be replaced more and more by the socialist principle of labor productivity.

With uninterrupted socialist expansion of the economy and communist education of the masses, today, after more than 50 years, material incentives should no longer play a decisive role. The socialist principle of labor productivity should dominate. But this trend was interrupted and completely turned around by the coup of the bureaucracy, the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the restoration of capitalism in a new form. The capitalist principle of

pursuit of profit and material incentives displaced the socialist principle of labor productivity. To reach the phase of communism, the consciousness of the broad masses must be raised to the level of socialist consciousness. This requires intense, incessant political work by the communists among the masses.

> But in order to retain and strengthen the confidence of the majority of the workers, it is necessary systematically to develop the consciousness, independent activity and initiative of the working class, systematically to educate it in the spirit of communism by organizing it in trade unions and drawing it into the work of building a communist economy. (Stalin: "Our Disagreements," in: *Works*, Vol. 5, p. 14)

Without such a communist education of the masses, socialist construction cannot be carried out. As Marx said, "When theory grips the masses, it becomes a material force." This holds not only for the seizure of power by the working class, but also for socialist construction. Only a working class acting consciously along socialist lines develops the power to overcome all difficulties and obstacles arising during construction and further development of the economy. To approach economic construction almost solely from the economic side, considering pursuit of profit and material incentives the motive power, is to act in accordance with the economic laws of capitalism.

Not the economic but the political aspect is decisive, if one is out to change the world. "Politics is a concentrated expression of economics...", says Lenin in *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin*. He continues:

> Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83)

Lenin stated further:

> Trotsky and Bukharin make as though they are concerned for the growth of production whereas we have nothing but formal democracy in mind. This picture is wrong, because the *only* formulation of the issue (which the Marxist standpoint *allows*) is: without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay

on top, *and, consequently,* will be incapable of solving *its production problem* either. (*ibid.*, p. 84)

Or, as Mao Zedong says: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." The "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," drawn up by Mao Zedong in 1960, laid down the following five principles of plant management:

> Keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close cooperation among workers, cadres, and technicians; and go full steam ahead with the technical innovations and technical revolution.

The great upsurge of industrial and agricultural production in China since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, this grandly architected mass movement led by the Communist Party, once again proves the strength which political mobilization can awaken in the masses.

The modern revisionists have not only "forgotten the ABC of Marxism" but have thrown it completely overboard. In the Soviet Union today politics do not, as Lenin says, "take precedence over economics." Rather, according to *Kommunist* No. 2, 1963, "the questions of economics and production are brought to the fore by the entire progress of communist construction" and must therefore "be the focus of the activities of the party organizations and the cornerstones of their entire work."

The revisionists do not shrink from citing Lenin as a witness for their revisionist line. Shamelessly, *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* No. 50, 1962, asserts:

> If today the Party carries out a reorganization of economic management based on the production principle, it is acting in accord with Lenin's thesis of the primacy of economics over politics in socialism. In the early dawn of Soviet power, V.I. Lenin wrote: 'The task of administration which now comes to the fore for the Soviet state is peculiar in that now, and probably for the first time in the recent

history of civilized nations, we are dealing with an administration in which the economy acquires prime importance, not politics.'

Today everyone must understand that the most important thing in building communism is the economy, production, the struggle to create the material and intellectual goods for the life of the people.

The Lenin quote is taken out of context and refers to the particular economic situation in which hunger and misery prevailed among the masses and the economy had to be set going again whatever the cost; i.e., the economic aspect became the principal aspect, and this task, Lenin says, "is peculiar in that..." (see above).

In *Once Again on the Trade Unions*, which we quoted earlier, Lenin emphasized in his polemics against Trotsky and Bukharin:

> Of course, I have always said, and will continue to say, that we need more economics and less politics, but if we are to have this we must clearly be rid of political dangers *and political mistakes.* (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 85)

This is altogether different than what the revisionists claim. This corruption of Leninism reached its climax, for the time being, in the widely noted Soviet book *Die ökonomischen "Theorien" des Maoismus* ("The economic 'theories' of Maoism") by E. Korbash. According to a review in *Sowjetunion heute* No. 21, 1971, the book states:

> The manner in which the Maoist "theorists" master the solution of economic problems is governed by their thesis "politics are the decisive factor." They turn the Marxist principle of the relation between politics and economics topsy-turvy. The true essence of the transition from capitalist to socialist society, as Lenin stressed, is in the fact that the political tasks take a position subordinate to the economic tasks.

All we can say to this is, the manner in which Brezhnev's "theorists" "master" the solution of ideological problems is governed by their endeavor to somehow make Lenin the father of every opportunist tendency which Lenin himself fought against with all his might. That goes for the thesis of "peaceful transition" as well as "the primacy of economics over politics." With patent lies, however, the revisionists cannot cover up their betrayal of Leninism.

This betrayal of Leninist theory, of course, reflects their betrayal of Leninist practice. In the following section we shall prove how the leading revisionists of the Soviet Union have systematically undermined and destroyed the socialist consciousness of the workers and peasants by their economics of pursuit of profit and material incentives. Personal or group egotism takes the place of socialist consciousness. Looking after one's own interests takes the place of hard work for the whole of society.

What Lenin wrote in April, 1917, about the petty-bourgeois influences of then, has come to pass today:

> A gigantic petty-bourgeois wave has swept over everything and overwhelmed the class-conscious proletariat, not only by force of numbers but also ideologically; that is, it has infected and imbued very wide circles of workers with the petty-bourgeois political outlook. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 62)

These are the pernicious ideological consequences of material incentives, which, closely linked with pursuit of profit, are the most important tool of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

Destruction of the Socialist Principle of Labor Productivity by the Principle of Pursuit of Profit and Material Incentives, and the Consequences for the Economy

In 1935, Stalin saw in bureaucracy the greatest impediment to the growth of the Stakhanov movement. He said:

> People cling to the technical backwardness of our working men and women, guiding themselves by this backwardness, basing themselves on this backwardness, and matters finally reach a pitch when people begin to play at backwardness. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, p. 787)

The old and new bureaucracy saw their privileges endangered by a working class with high socialist consciousness which supports itself on the dictatorship of the proletariat. To safeguard their selfish interests they cunningly endeavored to tie them in with the material interests of the workers. This was encouraged by a wrongly designed

system of central planning and control. There are two kinds of planning and control:

1. Planning on the basis of democratic centralism, with control from below by the masses, as Lenin called for again and again.

2. Planning on the basis of a bureaucratic centralism, with control from above by the bureaucratic apparatus, which gradually gained ground and predominates today.

The former means that the workers and peasants are not only involved in drawing up plans but, most important, have control over their quantitative and qualitative fulfillment. The latter means that the workers and peasants neither participate in making plans nor exercise control over their implementation.

What sense and what consequences does bureaucratic planning have? As sole criterion for the success of enterprises, fulfillment of the plan is demanded under all circumstances. If the plan is overfulfilled, this brings material advantages to the workers and salaried employees in the form of extra bonuses, but above all to the director of the enterprise. If the target is not met, the result is loss of bonuses and thus less pay.

Bureaucratic planning and control from the top in conjunction with plan fulfillment as sole criterion had fateful consequences. For the sake of material advantages, factory managers resorted to the craftiest methods. The workers were held responsible for poor planning and shortcomings of plan implementation although they were consulted neither about planning nor about control. So as not to reduce their wages further, low as they were, they kept silent about the manipulations of the management. This undermined proletarian morale and socialist consciousness. Lies and deception, waste of materials and labor power, disorganization of the market, holding back of necessary investments, false figures on operating expenses and production capacities, deterioration of quality, and so on, finally became the order of the day.

Following the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat the control by the masses, which had existed at least in part before this and had reached a high in the Stakhanov movement (but had gradually been choked by the bureaucracy), fell completely by the wayside.

This process, which already began earlier, was raised to a completely new level with the usurpation of power and restoration of capitalism by the revisionist bureaucracy. In the following, we will show the effects of bureaucratic planning since the capitalist restoration, in conjunction with pursuit of profit and material incentives, relying on the official information of the revisionist press of the Soviet Union. We cite only a few instances of the vast number of abuses which have come to light in the past years, but these alone suffice to prove the general catastrophic state of affairs in the Soviet Union. Here the examples:

1. To ensure fulfillment and overfulfillment of a plan, managers understate production capacities and overstate operating costs. This means that capacities are not fully utilized in order to get a lower target output the following year. Regular fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans add to the prestige, and the bonuses, of managers.

This often impels them to treat natural resources in a devastating way in order to meet targets more easily and grab the largest possible profits with the least possible effort. In *Pravda* of January 27, 1970, we read: "15 years ago, 17.8 percent of the coal was lost during the mining process. Today, 27.8 percent." Waste is also rampant in iron, manganese and copper mines. Iron ore with less than 46 percent iron content is left unprocessed. In one copper mine losses have increased by 50 percent over the last few years. Multipurpose use is unknown. And why is there so much waste? The above-mentioned article says:

> There are no incentive systems for paying the mine and factory workers, no systems which would interest people materially in prudent exploitation of natural resources.... Under the conditions of the economic reform a company can make large profits by extracting only the easy beds, the ones that contain the most valuable ores and are the least depleted (i.e., have the richest content of valuable components); or by permitting tremendous losses of natural resources; in other words, when it just "skims the cream." In such cases only the state is damaged economically — the mining company is not affected.

In order to increase the profitability of their companies, therefore, the mine managers squander huge quantities of natural resources

without the slightest qualms. The *Pravda* hacks, of course, are not about to make the capitalist new system responsible, let alone call it in question. For them, the solution is to elaborate the system of material incentives still further to somehow "interest" the directors in thrift. As if they wouldn't think out new tricks.

2. Some plans are based on the weight of products. The greater the weight, the sooner the plan is fulfilled. So the weight is simply raised artificially, as *Pravda* of 29 June 1970 reports: one tube mill made the tube walls thicker than specified. For some enterprises, target fulfillment is based on consumed material. *Pravda* of 3 March 1970 mentions a Moscow engine factory which machines a 12 kg component from a 38 kg casting. More than two thirds of it is waste. The Soviet monthly *Voprosy Ekonomiki* No. 7, 1970, published a study according to which in Soviet factories three to four times more metal is machined to chips than in the capitalist factories of the West. Waste in form of chips amounts to 29 percent in the mechanical engineering industry, 45 percent in the machine-tool branch, and even 57 percent in the ball-bearing industry. This waste costs the state four or five billion rubles a year.

3. Since plan fulfillment is measured by the quantity, not the quality, of products, the quality suffers, and this increases the cost of repairs. According to the 31 October 1969 issue of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, in the Russian Republic 220 to 240 million rubles annually could be saved while properly repairing tractors, combines and motor vehicles, and 30,000 to 35,000 new MTZ-50 tractors could be built with the spare parts then not used. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 29 November 1969 reports that an entire shipment of 113 pumps destined for oil production in Baku was defective.

4. The compulsion to meet targets keeps many plant managers from introducing innovations. Changes to or expansion of the production process mean delays in production because modifications must be made and machines must be temporarily shut down. This jeopardizes punctual fulfillment of the plan, and in the event of nonfulfillment penalties threaten. For this reason *Izvestiya* of 5 September 1969 criticized the long time span between an innovation and its practical utilization. *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* Nos. 22 and 47, 1969,

tell the story of a portable pneumatic grinder. The finished plans have been lying in the drawers of the Kuibyshev Aeronautical Institute for ten years. The workers familiar with the trial grinders produced in the institute's shop are enthused. But despite the greatest need (in the R.S.F.S.R. alone 50,000 are required annually) in all those years no factories were set up in which the tool could be produced in volume.

Owing to the incompetence or slackness of bureaucrats delivery of important means of production also is held up. *Pravda* of 17 January 1970 reports:

> In January of last year it was decided to take an old onion planting machine out of service and replace it with a new improved machine. The first part of this decision was carried out fairly quickly, but no one has gotten around to carrying out the second part yet. One year has passed, but the agricultural machinery depot has not received a single planting machine yet. And about 1,000 had been ordered.
>
> Unfortunately, this is far from being an exception. The same thing happened with a group of machines for harvesting peas. The old ZbA-35 harvesting machine was manufactured until 1967. It had its faults. An entirely new machine was designed, with half the weight and one and a half times more efficient. Production of the old machine was discontinued, but production of the new one had not started up yet. And that was three years ago.

5. Fulfillment of the plan depends largely on the "materials supply system." For many years, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and *Pravda* have complained in numerous articles about the chaos in the supply of raw materials and semifinished products. In the consumer goods industry, supply of one material is held up, then of the next. The factories lack the wood for furniture, the leather for shoes, the fabric for clothing, the jars and cans for canned foods, and so forth. The building industry lacks cement or iron for concrete. Fuel for tractors and artificial fertilizer are unavailable to the collective farms. According to *Pravda* of 17 December 1969, the chief of planning, Baibakov, resignedly stated that from January, 1968, through October, 1969, the following required materials were not delivered: 11 million tons of coal, 5 million tons of rolled iron and steel, 2.5 million tons of mineral

fertilizers, cement, and more.

Much worse, however, is when the new capitalist managers set up combines and recruit workers without bothering about accommodations for their families, because in their pursuit of profit they have completely "forgotten" to build homes, too. *Pravda* of 15 March 1971 reports: "It can happen that they finish the factory, but 'forget' to build apartments and community and cultural facilities on time...."

The newspaper cites a number of examples, one being the Balaskovski silk weaving combine, completed in 1970. It employs 6,000 people, mainly young women. But only 45 percent of the necessary residences and a third of the kindergartens and nurseries were built. "These are standard grievances, too, at the silk combine in Cherkassk, at the Pinsk tricot combine, and in many other places."

The trade-union newspaper *Trud* of 12 January 1971 reports about the worker town Vuktyl in words that remind us of the worst "guest" worker quarters here:

> In the settlement, which has 13,000 inhabitants, there is neither a kindergarten nor a day nursery. A kindergarten for 140 children has been under construction for three years now. For two construction phases a total of 6,000 rubles has been provided, which means that the official opening will not take place soon....
>
> In frost and high heat the residents of Vuktyl watch movies in a sheet-metal structure. There is no place to wash oneself. People who produce millions of cubic meters of gas are unable to make even their tea on a gas fire. Even the bakery fires with wood.
>
> There are no houses in Vuktyl. There are caravans and temporary barracks.

Even general health service is neglected because there are not enough ambulances in serviceable condition.

> "In Omsk," we read in *Pravda* of 11 March 1971, "repair shops and garages for ambulances are poorly equipped or completely lacking, so that a third of the ambulances are not in working order. The health unit of the city party committee has been talking for seven years about building new garages and repair shops, but nothing has happened yet."

6. Pursuit of profit has special consequences for supply of spare parts and jeopardizes plan fulfillment at numerous factories and collective farms. Profit margins for production of spare parts are generally smaller than for production of complete units. Moreover, spare parts production targets are usually specified as money values with the result (as *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* Nos. 7 and 12, 1969, report) that the most expensive spare parts, which yield a higher profit and meet the targets more easily, are produced, while screws, bolts and washers, for example, are not. Thus, in 1968 only 47.7 percent of the required nuts and bolts and only 20.5 percent of the necessary screws were supplied (*ibid.*, No. 4, 1969). The newspaper writes further that 140 million screw bolts are needed annually for fastening plowshares, but only 15 million are produced. The collective farms themselves must produce what they lack by primitive means.

Pravda of 10 June 1971 printed a letter from the director of a large Moscow laundry. Enclosed with the letter were two similar-looking rubber articles, a so-called silfon (a part of a washing machine) and a plain rubber nipple from a nursing bottle. The letter reads:

> A "silfon" costs only 7 kopecks, but without it, a machine that costs 1,417 rubles cannot operate. We wrote to the factory that makes the machines and asked them to send us new "silfons." In reply they sent us two in an envelope and advised us to turn to the makers, a rubber goods factory in Kaunas. But they showed us the cold shoulder there, too.
>
> What were we to do? Well, we found a way out. The nipples for a baby's bottle, three kopecks a pair, saved us.
>
> **I even received a bonus for this "rationalization measure."** But the nipple does not last long, ten days at most. After all, its rubber is not intended for contact with alkaline detergents. In short, our opinion is that the nipples should go to those for whom they are intended — babies. The washing machines for their part need "silfons." (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Komsomolskaya Pravda of 7 February 1969 reports on a motor repair shop which ordered 450 clutch discs but only got six. *Sovetskaya Rossiya* of 1 March 1969 added that a wholesale outlet requested 60,000 spare track links for the repair of crawler tractors but only

received a delivery of 22,000. There are people who interpret material interest in their own way. The lack of spare parts is aggravated by theft and black-marketing. The trade-union paper *Trud* wrote on 22 March 1970 that not only screws, nuts and similar small parts are stolen from factories and sold on the black market, but entire gear-boxes, engine blocks, lighting systems, cooling units and the like. In Moscow there are black markets where stolen spare parts are sold under the eyes of the police (*Moskovskaya Pravda* of 27 July 1968).

Things must be very bad when Kosygin feels obliged to criticize the situation in his speech at the XXIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in the following words:

> As an example of poor organizational work by ministries, especially the engineering ministries, we could cite the situation with spare parts for machines and equipment. This is felt most acutely in agriculture. Interruptions in the supply of spare parts do considerable harm, causing stoppages and compelling a large number of people to engage in semi-artisan production, which adds greatly to the cost of equipment overhaul.
>
> It is absolutely intolerable that ministries should relieve themselves of responsibility for supplying spare parts for plant and machines manufactured by them. The situation should be such that the factory supplies the consumer with spare parts at his first request. The activity of engineering enterprises and ministries should be evaluated not only by the number of machines produced, but also by how these machines perform and how they are supplied with spare parts. (*Directives of the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975. A Report by Alexei Kosygin*, p. 61)

Naturally, Kosygin does not delve into the reasons. A capitalist principle is that smokestacks stay cold where there is no profit. That means that without profit spare parts go unproduced, because the directors' interest in fulfilling the plans of their factories is to be able to secure their extra bonuses and privileges. The bureaucratic-centralistic planning and pursuit of profit are thus the chief causes of these shortcomings of the Soviet economy.

According to *Pravda* of 20 March 1970, in the city of Kharkov it is almost impossible to get teapots, meat grinders, etc. The reason: these items were discontinued because they are "not profitable enough."

Under these circumstances many items can only be had on the black market or for bribes. *Pravda* of 29 January 1971 wrote about someone looking for parts to repair a tape recorder. In the shop he is first told, "We don't have any." Grease palms with three or five rubles, and suddenly the parts are available. The same goes for car repairs. Moscow taxi drivers, in particular, complain that repair shops almost always have to be bribed if a job is to be done quickly.

7. Pursuit of profit in agriculture jeopardizes attainment of targets by collective and state farms. The effects are twofold:

a) The privileged stratum on government estates and collective farms appropriates a large part of the results of the work of the farm workers and collective farmers. Kolkhoz chairmen, too, can increase their bonuses by manipulating the plan, as *Pravda* of 13 February 1970 shows. One collective farm chairman said openly:

> If working conditions in my kolkhoz are poor, no one is going to punish me for that. But if we produce less milk, then all hell breaks loose and I'm cited before the party committee. (*Izvestiya* of 15 June 1970)

b) The farmers in the collectives and on the government estates have, in addition to the collective or state property, private farmland. This is nothing bad in itself. The size of the private parcels used to be limited by law, when the Soviet Union was still a socialist country. In absolute terms the size of the supplementary plots declined from year to year. In 1965, however, the restrictions were lifted. The size of private plots declined even from 1960 to 1965, from 6.75 million hectares to 6.60 million, but by 1969 it had risen again to 6.78 million hectares (*Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1969 godu*, p. 313).

The private farms grow while cooperative production is neglected. Brezhnev had to admit that in the countryside "the people are indifferent to raising social production." With private initiative it is a different story. It goes so far that from southern parts of the Union (Armenia, Uzbekistan, Georgia) tomatoes, grapes, strawberries, peaches and other fruits as well as flowers are flown into Moscow and Leningrad and sold at exorbitant prices at the free markets. This is done with the tacit approval of the revisionist leadership.

What is the result of this trend? The Soviet magazine *Selskaya Zhizn* pointed out the inadequacies of cooperative production in numerous articles in 1968. It complained that "there is often unjustifiable mismanagement and waste which lead to irreparable loss." In some areas "large tracts of land have become pastures, steppes and waste lands, much farmland has turned swampy and is overgrown with shrubs." In the Soviet Union "50 to 60 million hectares of soil (about a quarter of the cultivated land) is affected by erosion."

In proportion to the influence material incentives gain on people, their socialist consciousness and social interest decline. Although conditions in the Ukraine and Transcaucasia are favorable for growing fruit and vegetables, their production is neglected because the workers of the "vegetable brigades" earn less than other farm workers. No wonder that the five-year plan (1966-1970) for vegetable production was fulfilled to only 89.4 percent, the lowest rate in agricultural production (source: output figures of the XXIVth Party Congress).

8. Corruption, bribery, embezzlement and theft are normal accompaniments of private capitalism in general. Such foul by-products of capitalism are also spreading in the Soviet Union owing to the debasement of socialist morals and socialist consciousness. As we already emphasized on several occasions, the new capitalism in the Soviet Union is first and foremost state-monopoly capitalism. But the raising of the profits of the individual enterprises and the increasing independence of company managers have thrown the doors wide open to the growth of an illegal or semilegal private capitalism. For the line between legal enrichment from official profits and additional enrichment with illegal, surreptitiously acquired profits is not drawn very sharply. There are not many managers who miss out on acquiring additional wealth thanks to their positions. And as long as this does not create a public stir, the new bourgeoisie prefers to turn a blind eye to it. Drastic action is taken only when embezzlement and corruption reach such proportions that the new overlords controlling the state feel seriously cheated, or when the public protests energetically.

From the manager of a lumber company, for example, we hear that

he sells state-owned lumber on his own account and protects himself with bribes (*Pravda* of 29 January 1971). Or take, for example, the manageresses of several Moscow hairdressers who have turned the state-owned salons into out-and-out private operations: every employee must hand over part of her monthly earnings to the manageress if she does not want to lose her job. Vacation is also only to be had for an appropriate "tip" (*Trud* of 13 August 1969).

In most cases the corrupt managers know how to avoid punishment through a broadly based system of bribes and political intrigues. *Pravda* of 28 January 1970 reports that farmers of the Thälmann kolkhoz wrote a letter to the district committee of the party complaining about the kolkhoz chairman, a certain Zinoviev. This official

> deceives people. He sold 400 centners of grain and a thousand kilogrammes of meat for next to nothing. He behaves unworthily, insults the collective farmers, uses foul language and comes to work drunk. The writers of the letter received a reply from the district committee that Zinoviev was removed from his function as kolkhoz chairman. The documents attached to the letter clearly show that this individual should have been brought before a court for embezzling kolkhoz funds. Currently, Zinoviev is manager of the municipal enterprises of the district executive committee. In other words, he was promoted.

Babinski Rabochi of 22 March 1970 reports how a government minister protected a band of crooks at one dairy. He had the press report that the guilty people had been punished. In reality they retained their posts. The same article reports how high government officials in the Azerbaijan Republic acquired diplomas for their children although they had never attended university. *Pravda* of 16 May 1967 reports of one Korolev, professor and party member who embezzled 1,500 rubles in state funds.

> Despite demands by many communists that this thief of state property be severely punished, Korolev was only given a reprimand, which was not entered in his file. Shortly after, he was promoted to department chairman thanks to the efforts of the rector and the party committee.

Things must really be in a bad way before the culprits are "punished." Take a typical example. On January 18, 1971, *Pravda* published a letter to the editor dealing with the criminal activities of Director Kovalchuk of the state fur-farm trust of the coastal district, and the attempts to cover up the affair. But the whole business stank to the high heavens so that the district newspaper "Red Flag" took it up, reporting that a number of managers had illegally pocketed large bonuses. The letter to *Pravda* continues:

> The article was reviewed by the staff of the district farm administration, but the head of this body, M. Klersfeld, and others took an unprincipled position on the criticism and defended Kovalchuk. The latter, encouraged by this turn of events, took to the offensive, declaring that the people's controllers and the workers of the financial organs were impeding his work.
>
> What really took place at the trust? Trust manager G. Kovalchuk illegally took 4,900 rubles from the total bonus awarded to the Sovkhozes for the good quality of their pelts and distributed them to the members of his management crew. The Director himself received 500 rubles. Following the example of the trust, several other enterprises also began taking liberties; the managers and their salaried personnel gave themselves bonuses without any reason. Individual directors received bonuses which exceed all measure. In just one year, P. Tonkoshkurov, Maikhe, pocketed more than 2,700 rubles [DM 10,800 - The Editors] in bonuses and benefits.
>
> Experts from Moscow and Irkutsk staying on business at the Sovkhozes also "fattened" themselves at state expense. The Director sold minks at ridiculously low prices under the counter to friends, acquaintances and other "useful people." G. Kovalchuk claims that flawed furs of almost no use were sold. But what he doesn't say is that he sold the fur exhibits, the pieces used to demonstrate the success of the trust, at give-away prices. Should we perhaps doubt this success?
>
> The sovkhozes permitted an enormous loss of animals. In just one year they suffered damages of a million rubles resulting from the loss of offspring at one unit. Deliveries of furs to the state declined and the quality became worse.
>
> After examining the letters from the workers and the report in *Pravda*, the coastal district's people's control committee finally punished the culprits. G. Kovalchuk, M. Klersfeld and others were fined.

The ministry of agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. conducted an audit in Dalzverotrest. Kovalchuk was given a severe reprimand in a decree signed by V. Afanasev.

With that, the matter appears closed. But a justifiable question comes up: did Kovalchuk pay enough for his reprehensible actions? Why wasn't his behavior censured by the party?

To this we add another question: what would happen to such a corrupt and criminal director if the dictatorship of the proletariat still held sway? We ask further: isn't such behavior the consequence of pursuit of profit and material incentives? Does restoration of capitalism not necessarily bring with it the false bourgeois morality, the corruption, the symptoms of decay of capitalist society? The egotism, the greed, the envy, the bourgeois lifestyle?

9. All these things acted to destroy the socialist principle of labor productivity, displacing socialist consciousness as the driving force of productivity improvement by pursuit of profit and material incentives. The socialist principle of labor productivity was replaced by the capitalist principle. How does increasing labor productivity affect wages under these circumstances? Does the wage system of bureaucratic capitalism in the Soviet Union still differ from that of Western private capitalism? Let us see what one Vladimir Belchuk says about this in the article "Arbeitsproduktivität und Fünfjahresplan" ("Labor Productivity and Five-Year Plan") in *Sowjetunion heute* of 1 October 1971:

In the 1971-1975 period, as in the past, wages remain the chief material incentive for raising the productivity of the labor of every individual worker of the enterprise. The amount of pay depends on the quantity and quality of the work performed.... Very common is payment by results [piecework - The Editors] and bonus systems. Straight hourly rates are very seldom, by contrast [as in private-capitalist companies - The Editors]. Of course, the stimulating effect of this or that pay system depends on its proper application and, to a large extent, on the norms, the proper setting of which has recently become an object of special concern.... For material encouragement of higher labor productivity the following rule is also highly important: A worker who has invented, proposed or introduced a technical improvement resulting in substantial productivity gains will continue

> **to be paid for several months by the old norms and rates...** [how humane — the private capitalist would give only 14 days notice before cutting the piece rate - The Editors]. Personal material interest in raising labor productivity is also stimulated by various bonuses paid in addition to wages and salaries from company profits. There is, for example, the so-called thirteenth month's pay, an annual bonus paid by the company for good results of work. (Emphasis added by us - the Editors)

This is nothing new to workers in the capitalist countries of the West. There is also nothing novel about a "subsidy for meals of employees in the factory canteen," proudly announced by Belchuk. As we have seen above, 24 pay grades exist as yet in the Soviet Union, and there are still about 30 different bonus systems, which are to be combined into one uniform system of exploitation in the near future. These measures serve to intensify exploitation of the working class.

On the Crisis of the New Capitalist Economy

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union automatically brought all the anarchy of the capitalist mode of production to the country. The wild profit-chase of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, bare of all concern for the needs of society, did away with planned socialist economic growth and produced chaos — intrinsic to all capitalist systems — in the Soviet Union. The unpredictability of profit, the competition between managers for bonuses, corruption and embezzlement, the uncontrolled activities of the individual enterprises have completely undermined the socialist planned economy.

As in all capitalist countries, economic growth stagnates in the Soviet Union, too. According to the figures given by Brezhnev at the XXIVth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., industrial output rose during the seventh five-year plan (1961-1965) by 51 percent, and in the eighth five-year plan (1966-1970) by 50 percent. In the ninth five-year period only an increase of 42-46 percent is planned. By contrast, as late as 1952 Malenkov spoke in his report to the XIXth Party Congress of increasing industrial output by 70 percent during the fifth five-year plan (1951-1955). It should be noted, however, that this plan could not be fulfilled due to sabotage by the Khrushchov revisionists.

In Albania, according to figures supplied by head planner Abdyl Kellezi at the 24 December 1971 session of the People's Assembly, industrial output during Albania's fourth five-year plan (1966-1970) even rose by 83 percent. Moreover, in Albania the figures for the new five-year plan were raised from the old plan, and not, as in the Soviet Union, reduced.

In the eighth Soviet five-year planning period, national income, according to the Brezhnev report to the XXIVth Party Congress, increased by 41 percent. In the ninth plan it is only supposed to increase by 37-40 percent. By contrast, national income in Albania rose during the fourth five-year plan by 55 percent, and an increase of 55-60 percent is scheduled in the fifth five-year plan.

But the revisionists are often unable to meet even their reduced targets. Under Stalin the grand five-year plans were always fulfilled and overfulfilled prior to term. Today, the revisionists, so proud of their modern mathematical planning methods, are nevertheless unable to gauge the development of the economy scientifically, but are forced to revise and reduce their plans over and over again.

In his above-mentioned report, Brezhnev claimed: "The Directives of the 23rd Congress have been successfully fulfilled in the main economic targets." This is an outright lie. On the next page of his report, the same Brezhnev enumerates the most important industrial products and states how much of each was produced. However, he forgets to compare these "success figures" with the targets set by the XXIIIth Party Congress, which allegedly were so "successfully fulfilled." In Table 3 we make this comparison for him. (We have left out two of the figures cited by Brezhnev: "output of engineering and metalworking industries in billions of rubles" and "garments in billions of rubles" since there are no corresponding figures in the plan directives.)

Kosygin's report to the same Party Congress gives us further examples of the "successes" of the eighth five-year plan. We have listed several of them in Table 4 and also compared them with the actual targets. These figures also belie the alleged "success" of the revisionist economic policies.

Russian history tells us of the inspection tour of Empress

TABLE 3

Product	planned for 1970[1]	produced in 1970[2]
Electric power (billions kwh)	830 - 850	740
Petroleum (millions t)	345 - 355	353
Coal (millions t)	665 - 675	624
Natural gas (billions m3)	225 - 240	200
Steel (millions t)	124 - 129	116
Rolled ferrous products (millions t)	95 - 99	92
Mineral fertilizer (millions t)	62 - 65	55
Synthetic resins and plastics (thousands t)	2100 - 2300	1672
Cement (millions t)	100 - 105	95
All fabric types (billions m2)	9.5 - 9.8	8.9
Leather footwear (millions prs)	610 - 630	676
Radio and television sets (millions)	15.0 - 15.7	14.5
Domestic refrigerators (millions)	5.3 - 5.6	4.1

Source: [1]Directives of the XXIIIth Congress of the CPSU for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1966-1970; [2]Report of Brezhnev to XXIVth Party Congress

Catherine through the villages of Russia. To cover up the true situation and varnish his politics, Potemkin, the prime minister, had fine, clean facades of cardboard set up along the route to cover up the wretched villages (hence the "Potemkin villages"). It appears that Brezhnev and Kosygin want to play the part of Potemkin for the Soviet people. Their pompous party congresses are nothing more than Potemkin villages today, designed to conceal the sad capitalist reality.

In socialist countries it is quite possible that economic development can suffer temporary setbacks. The German invasion of the

TABLE 4

Product	planned for 1970[1]	produced in 1970[2]
Paper (thousands t)	5000 - 5300	4185
Motor vehicles (thousands)	1360 - 1510	916
incl. passenger cars	700 - 800	344
Devices, means of automation; spare parts for same (mill. rubles)	3570 - 3670	3102
Tractors (thousands)	600 - 625	458

Source: [1]as in table 3; [2]Report of Kosygin to XXIVth Party Congress

Soviet Union in 1941 and the difficulties of converting from wartime to peacetime production after World War II interrupted the planned growth of the Soviet economy for a period. 1946 industrial output was only 77 percent of 1940 output. But as early as 1948 the prewar level of industrial production was reached again and even surpassed by 18 percent.

The unexpected annulment of the Sino-Soviet and Albanian-Soviet economic treaties by the Khrushchovites in 1960 and 1961 and the abrupt withdrawal of the Soviet technicians from these two countries created problems of a temporary nature for the Chinese and Albanian economies, which in China were aggravated by three years of ongoing natural catastrophes.

But the Chinese and Albanian peoples quickly overcame these difficulties, so that in terms of the current growth rate of the economy these countries have left all capitalist countries of the East and of the West far behind.

In the capitalist countries it is exactly the opposite: it is possible for the capitalist economy to boom for several years running, as for example the West German and Japanese economies in the period of remilitarization following World War II. In long-range terms, how-

ever, the General Crisis of Capitalism increasingly comes to a head. The capitalist relations of production increasingly become fetters of the productive forces.

The economic difficulties of the Soviet Union today are not a temporary weakness, but harbingers of a general crisis. Despite almost thirty years of peace, despite tremendous scientific and technological advances, the revisionist leaders are increasingly troubled by a stagnant economy and introduce ever new "reform" plans which supposedly increase the efficiency of the economy, but in reality only exacerbate the crisis of modern revisionism.

The sole cause of the economic setbacks in the Soviet Union is to be found in the restoration of capitalism. An economy for the benefit of working people knows no bounds to development as long as the constantly growing needs of society have not been completely satisfied. An economy ruled by the greed for profit of a small group of exploiters, however, encounters insurmountable barriers again and again.

In accordance with the laws of capitalism the capitalist mode of production is subject to economic crises. This applies equally to private capitalism and to the new type of capitalism. The tendency can already be made out now in the economy of the Soviet Union, and in Yugoslavia it is already fully operating. Engels writes about this trend of capitalism in his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*:

> *excess here, of means of production and products — excess there, of laborers,* without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital — which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange.* The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 150 and 151; emphasis added from German version of text - The Editors)

To secure their profits, by capitalist logic the Soviet revisionists are forced to undertake imperialist expansion abroad (this we will show

in the third part of this analysis). At the same time, the new monopoly bourgeoisie incessantly steps up exploitation and oppression at home to squeeze the last drop out of the Soviet proletariat. The Shchekino experiment will not be the last experiment of this kind. At the XXIVth Party Congress Brezhnev announced that in 1971-1975 "80 percent of the accretion in the national income" must be obtained through "higher labor productivity," i.e., by intensifying exploitation of the workers.

The capitalist laws introduced by the restoration operate automatically both on the economic base and on the superstructure. This means that the class contradictions intensify and erupt violently in embittered class struggle, as they did about one year ago in Poland. The Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union will mobilize all forces to fight against the further dismantling of the people's achievements, to oppose the most flagrant forms of capitalist degeneration. But to return to socialism, the peoples of the Soviet Union have no other alternative but to overthrow the rule of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie in a second October Revolution and reestablish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(First published as REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 8, *Die Restauration des Kapitalismus in der Sowjetunion*, Part II, 1972.)

III

From Bureaucratic Capitalism to Social-Imperialism

1. Development of the New Form of Capitalism into Social-Imperialism

Imperialism and Social-Imperialism

The revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples against imperialism, and for national and social liberation, is the most powerful current of our day. The epoch has dawned in which imperialism moves towards complete collapse and socialism towards worldwide victory.

Imperialism is the highest, the monopolistic stage of capitalism. Lenin explained:

> Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed. (Lenin: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 266/267)

The competition between the groups of monopolies and the struggle for the redistribution of raw material sources and markets intensify enormously. War and the danger of war are thus characteristic of imperialism until its destruction.

Following World War II, the great majority of the former colonies achieved independence, dealing a blow to the imperialist world system. Certain countries went further and took away the plantations

and mines, factories and transportation systems from the imperialists, gave them to local capitalists or nationalized them, that is, turned them into collective property of the ruling domestic bourgeoisie. The imperialists had to change their tactics. Bare-faced colonialism was replaced by neocolonialism. To keep the now independent countries under their control, the neocolonialists, with U.S. imperialism in the lead, employed new means of oppression. They apply political pressure to these countries, by means of military extortion, subversion and unmasked aggression, and bring their puppets to power.

But, in addition to military and political control, the imperialists put economic pressure on the young nations. By hook or by crook they seek to prevent the countries which have gained political freedom from acquiring economic independence. They try to hamper economic development of these countries and chain them to the imperialist world system. These countries are supposed to leave their raw materials to the imperialists and not use them themselves. They are supposed to continue to keep their doors open to foreign commodities and capital and not build up local industries, not develop the domestic market. With imperialistic cold-bloodedness, the former U.S. President Kennedy pointed out the advantages of capital export to poor countries in an address on December 7, 1961:

> Last year, 1960, we invested abroad $1,700 million, and we took in from our investments abroad $2,300 million.... From the underdeveloped world, which needs capital, we took in $1,300 million and we sent out in capital for investment $200 million.... While in Western Europe we sent out $1,500 million and took in $1 billion.

Under the pretext of "international division of labor" the imperialists ruthlessly take advantage of the economic backwardness of the new independent states, the onerous legacy of colonialism. Instead of helping them develop an industrial base, the imperialists promote production of the poor countries' so-called traditional products, buy up these raw materials at give-away prices, process them in the metropolitan countries and, often enough, resell them as finished products to the same poor countries.

What are these "traditional products"? They are the products which the old colonialists selected for these countries after they destroyed the indigenous, often centuries old industries. The French imperialists, for example, plowed up tens of thousands of acres of fertile Algerian soil to grow wine. Algerians are forbidden to drink wine by their religion, however. When Algeria threatened to nationalize French oil companies after obtaining independence, the French imperialists countered, threatening to boycott the wine for which Algeria has no use and which it must therefore sell in France. The British not only ruined Egypt's agriculture through monoculture, planting cotton everywhere, they also went on to take down the factories which Egyptian entrepreneurs had set up at the beginning of the 19th century. Colombia became one great coffee plantation. Cuba was designated to produce sugar and tobacco. Even after they gain independence, such countries are saddled with economies deformed by the imperialists. The neocolonialists take advantage of the lopsided development of these countries to keep them dependent. Petroleum-exporting countries, for example, must sell their crude oil cheap and buy expensive refined products abroad. The imperialists control the world trade system and depress the prices for raw materials. According to U.N. figures, the prices for finished products which the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America import from the imperialist nations rose by 50 percent between 1950 and 1963. In the same period, however, world market prices for raw materials declined by 38 percent. To purchase one jeep, Colombia had to sell 14 sacks of coffee in 1954. By 1969, Colombia had to supply 43 sacks as equivalent.

Several countries have succumbed to imperialist pressures and permit large-scale importation of capital. Other countries issue laws restricting foreign investment in order to protect local industries from imperialist competition. There, enterprises entirely owned by foreign capitalists are increasingly giving way to joint ventures partly owned by foreign private capitalists (or states) and partly owned by the local bourgeoisie (or their state). The profits are shared between the proprietors. But these joint ventures (and most of the exclusively imperialist-owned enterprises) are, as a rule, not enter-

prises of the capital goods industry, such as steel or engine works. Instead, the imperialists prefer labor-intensive light industries where they can extract the most profit from the cheap labor of the poor countries.

"Commission processing" is particularly popular: individual labor-intensive parts are processed abroad and then carted back to the imperialist country. West German electronics companies, for example, have complicated individual parts produced by hand in their branches in Singapore and Malaysia and then introduce them into final assembly in the F.R.G. They save a lot of money this way despite the high cost of transport. One can achieve the same effect without even having to invest in the poor country. West German concerns sell semifinished goods to a household appliance factory in Yugoslavia. There, Yugoslavian workers produce refrigerators and kitchen ranges for very small wages. These are then resold to the West German imperialists. This is cheaper for the bosses of the monopolies than to have the goods produced in the F.R.G. According to *Handelsblatt* of May 20, 1972, already every tenth West German gas or electric range is produced in this manner. The Yugoslavian enterprise is completely independent of the West German capitalists in a formal sense; in reality, of course, it is entirely at their mercy.

All these methods aim in the same direction: to keep the poor countries dependent on the imperialists. Their economies are seen as appendages of the imperialist economies, their factories as ancillaries (suppliers and processors) of the imperialist monopolies.

In the first and second chapters of this book we showed how the Soviet revisionists overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, established the dictatorship of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie over the people, and restored capitalism. We proved that the capitalism re-introduced by the revisionists is not simple private laissez-faire capitalism. It is state-monopoly capitalism, and the degree of concentration, the degree of fusion of industrial and finance capital, the degree of subordination of the state to the monopolies show themselves to be incomparably greater than in the West. This is not ordinary capitalism, but the highest stage of capitalism, imperialism.

Just as the monopoly capitalism of the West does not let itself be hemmed in by the borders of the individual imperialist countries, so, too, does the new capitalism in the Soviet Union not confine itself to exploiting and oppressing the Soviet people. The drive for economic expansion, capital export, and subjugation of other countries, the drive for aggression and war, for redivision of the world, dominate this imperialism, too. This is no "preferred policy" of imperialism, which can readily be replaced by another, a peaceful policy, as Kaustky believed, but an economic necessity, the very essence of imperialism. Lenin remarked:

> The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 253)

The new capitalism in the Soviet Union logically develops into imperialism, from capitalism of a new type into social-imperialism:

> socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, *the growth of opportunism into imperialism.* (Lenin: "The Tasks of the Third International," in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 502)

While the U.S. imperialists and the other imperialist powers of the West openly act as representatives of capitalism, as opponents of communism and national liberation, the social-imperialists camouflage themselves as "socialists" and never tire of speaking about "struggle against imperialism" and "assistance to oppressed peoples." While they attack the peoples they prattle about "non-interference" and "peaceful coexistence." When they plunder the peoples they lecture them about "solidarity" and "unselfish help." When they undertake to justify their imperialist politics they do not shrink from falsifying Marxism, from representing Marx and Lenin as advocates of exploitation. They pursue this deceitful policy to hoodwink the Soviet people and the peoples of the world. They take advantage of the great credit which the Soviet Union and communism had gained under Lenin and Stalin to further their anti-Soviet, anticommunist and antipeople goals. In particular, the "anti-imperi-

alist" slogans of the social-imperialists aim at deceiving those peoples and governments who have seen through the character of imperialism and resist it. In this way, countries which release themselves from the octopus grip of U.S. imperialism are to be enticed into the jaws of social-imperialism.

Thus, one cannot expect the Soviet social-imperialists to employ exactly the same methods as the U.S. imperialists, to be as open and obvious as them. One must not forget that the revisionist Soviet Union is a very young imperialist power, which is only beginning to build its colonial empire and, consequently, uses various subtle and deceptive methods to gain influence in each country. For this reason, to gain footholds, social-imperialism often grants loans at far better conditions than the U.S. imperialists. But, after all, they are only doing as the West German and, especially, Japanese imperialists, do, who attempt to snatch markets from the U.S.A. in part by making more attractive offers. Thus, capital export by the Soviet Union often assumes different forms than U.S. capital export. But it is becoming less and less easy for them to dupe the world's nations. For, in essence, the imperialism of the Soviet leaders does not differ from that of the U.S.A. one bit. More and more peoples and governments of the formally independent countries are finding this out by experience.

The Restoration of Capitalism in Several of the People's Democracies

During World War II and in the first postwar years, a new form of government emerged in a number of countries of Europe and Asia: the People's Democracy. Influenced by the victories of the antifascist coalition headed by the Soviet Union, and in some cases with direct military support of the Red Army, the people of these countries smashed the fascist dictatorships of the German, Japanese and Italian aggressors and their puppets and established people's democratic rule. In 1949, people's democracy was also established in China following the victory of the Chinese people in the war of liberation over the Kuomintang reactionaries, who served U.S. imperialism. That same year, in the eastern part of Germany, where fascist state power had been smashed by Stalin's Red Army, an antifascist-democratic order, preliminary to a people's democracy, was created under the

auspices of the Soviet Union. The people's democracy was already proclaimed in the Mongolian People's Republic in 1921 following victory in the war of liberation. People's democratic rule was borne up everywhere by an alliance of various anti-imperialist classes and forces under the leadership of the proletariat and its party, the Communist Party, which had directed the struggle against the occupiers. It means dictatorship over the fascist powers, and democracy for the people. The people's democracy is not yet socialism. It sets itself merely anti-imperialist and democratic goals at first: depriving the leading monopolists and great landowners of their power, conducting land reform, rebuilding the economy, and so on. But it is fundamentally different from bourgeois democracy, for state power in people's democracy is not in the hands of the bourgeoisie, but in the hands of a coalition in which the working class exercises leadership. Therefore, as Dimitrov emphasized in 1948 in his closing remarks at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists):

> the Soviet regime and people's democracy are two forms of one and the same rule — the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the working people from town and countryside. They are two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Georgi Dimitrov: *Selected Works in 3 Volumes*, Sofia Press, 1972, Vol. 3, p. 352)

Through hard struggle against the bourgeoisie, through elimination of capitalist ownership and collectivization of agriculture, the proletariat can advance from people's democracy to socialism. Since the proletariat has already broken up the old state power by force and holds the reins of the people's democratic regime, since the proletariat is in the position to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and other reactionaries, it naturally does not have to seize power a second time. The existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat permits organic transition from people's democracy to socialism. The transition to socialism in the people's democracies was no exception to the Marxist-Leninist principle that socialism can only be achieved by smashing the bourgeois state machine and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat, but much more a confirmation of this rule. The people's democracy does not have the least in common with the

"antimonopolistic democracy" of the modern revisionists, of course.

The transition of the people's democracies to socialism is accompanied by bitter struggle between working class and bourgeoisie. If a capitalist restoration was possible even in the Soviet Union, forty years after the October Revolution, this danger is greater by far in such countries where not even the economic tasks of the socialist revolution have been accomplished. It is not surprising that bourgeois forces in Yugoslavia were able to gain the upper hand early on and do away with the people's democratic regime. And it is not surprising that the people's democratic systems in a number of countries were severely shaken in the period particularly when the Soviet Union ceased following the socialist road.

When it began restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, right from the start it was clear to the Khrushchov clique that it could only maintain itself if it were able to draw at least part of the communist world movement over to its revisionist line, if it succeeded in putting through a capitalist restoration in at least part of the people's democracies and turning these countries into political, military and economic outposts of Soviet revisionism. It had to ensure that the revisionist forces willing to see to the business of Khrushchov and Company gained the upper hand in a number of communist parties.

In the Soviet-occupied G.D.R., where the communists had a comparatively weak mass base, the Ulbricht group was fairly quick to change to the new revisionist course, so that the restoration of capitalism proceeded relatively smoothly and unobtrusively. The G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia were the exceptions, however. In the other people's democracies, most of the party leadership resisted revisionism and, in the following, had to put up with all sorts of machinations by the Khrushchov clique.

The counterrevolution directed by Khrushchov in Poland and Hungary assumed particularly drastic forms. Following the XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., and particularly in the wake of the "struggle against the cult of personality," counterrevolutionary bourgeois forces, which had previously been covert, spread out in all the socialist countries. They took advantage of the great confusion and uncertainty which Khrushchov's surprise attack on Stalin had engen-

dered to launch a major campaign against the leaders of various communist parties and against the socialist system in general. Even in China, the bourgeois Right came out with an openly anticommunist smear campaign in mid-1957. Of course, the ideological strength and determination of the Communist Party of China thwarted these attacks. Under the guise of "combatting personality cult," representatives of the former exploiting classes in Poland and Hungary, among them in particular the bourgeois intelligentsia, attacked the Party. They began by demanding personnel changes in the state apparatus and the rehabilitation of various convicted counterrevolutionaries, and soon went so far as to declare open struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party made a grab for leadership. All these counterrevolutionary activities were enthusiastically encouraged by imperialist foreign countries and the Tito clique, whereas Khrushchov and Company, who had fired the starting shot, while looking on this favorably stayed in the background.

In October, 1956, counterrevolutionary disturbances broke out in different parts of Poland. The bourgeois forces in the Party took advantage of the situation. The leadership of the Party was radically reshuffled. The dyed-in-the-wool counterrevolutionary Gomulka, a former Trotskyite who had been removed from the Party leadership in 1948 and spent several years in prison, took over. He proved a loyal henchman to Khrushchov in the time following. Under Gomulka's leadership capitalism was restored in particularly open fashion in Poland. Collectivization of agriculture, along with nationalization of industry the most important economic condition for socialism, was discontinued and largely reversed. According to the "Small Statistical Yearbook of Poland for 1969," page 157, of the country's total agricultural acreage of 19.8 million hectares, 16.7 million hectares, or 84 percent, were privately owned in 1968. The collective farms held only 227,000 hectares. Between 1950 and 1955, an average 600,000 tons of grain were harvested annually on collective farms, whereas in 1968 it was no more than 200,000 tons. The grain production of individually owned farming enterprises rose over the same period from 9.5 million tons (average 1950-1955) to 15.1 million

tons (1968) (ibid., p. 160). One should note that the personally used plots of the collective farmers are included in the collective farm statistics, so that actual collective production volume is even smaller (ibid., p. 149). The number of private workshops also increased significantly. On the basis of petty-bourgeois private property, private-capitalist elements sprang up spontaneously, like mushrooms after a rain. In the countryside a new class of kulaks (rich farmers) spread while the masses of small farmers became poorer and poorer. The newly created private bourgeoisie in town and country was an important ally of the Polish bureaucratic monopoly-bourgeoisie. The kulaks drove up prices for food and endangered the supply of food to the cities. In December, 1970, the workers in several cities of Poland rose up against the deterioration of their living conditions in powerful strikes and demonstrations. They were settling accounts with Gomulka for his criminal politics of capitalist restoration. In panic, the Polish revisionists "changed horses" in the leading bodies, but their revisionist and antisocial policies did not change.

The counterrevolution in Hungary went about its work even more brutally. After bourgeois intellectuals had prepared the ground with all-out attacks on the Party and socialism, a counterrevolutionary putsch broke out on October 23, 1956, with Hungarian fascists and U.S. imperialism pulling the strings. At this point at the latest, the Party leadership should have recognized the seriousness of the situation and taken determined measures to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. It did exactly the opposite. The Central Committee met on 24 and 25 October. The first secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party, Gerö, was removed from his post and replaced by the right-opportunist and Khrushchov-follower Kadar. The Central Committee had the counterrevolutionary Imre Nagy, who was removed from the leadership of Party and state for right opportunism in 1955, elected new premier. The new leadership undertook nothing to suppress the counterrevolution. No, it even marched at its head. As soon as Nagy assumed power he demanded Hungary's withdrawal from the socialist camp and the invasion of the country by U.N. forces. White terror raged. Fascist hordes murdered communists in broad daylight. It was not until the beginning of November,

when the takeover by the fascists was directly imminent, that the Central Committee, under pressure from the revolutionary masses, decided to dismiss the Nagy government, install a Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, and call on the Warsaw Pact troops stationed in Hungary to help put down the counterrevolution.

But what happened afterwards? Instead of thoroughly settling accounts with the counterrevolution and revisionism, Khrushchov and Kadar did all they could to play down the role of the reactionaries and lay all the blame on the former Party leadership, which had insisted on fighting the counterrevolutionaries. Their first statement thus termed the counterrevolutionary putsch "a mass movement whose honorable goal was to correct the anti-Party and anti-people mistakes which Rakosi and his followers [the former Party leadership - The Editors] had made and to preserve national independence and sovereignty." It was only the "weakness of the government of Imre Nagy" which had "endangered the existence of our entire homeland." The December 5, 1956, resolution of the provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party concerning the "causes and conditions of the events" mentions the "Rakosi-Gerö clique" first, which had committed "extraordinary crimes and errors," whereas Nagy supposedly merely "facilitated the onslaught of the counterrevolutionary forces" by his "helplessness." (Quoted from *Pravda* of December 9, 1956. All above quotations translated from the German by us - The Editors.)

As one can see, Khrushchov and Kadar sought at all costs to play down the counterrevolution and fabricate supposed crimes of the Hungarian communists. The loud counterrevolution was suppressed, but the quiet counterrevolution succeeded. Once in power, Kadar led the country down the road of capitalist restoration. It was similar in Bulgaria, where the revisionist Zhivkov and his hangers-on gradually took away power from the communists grouped around former Party chief and premier Chervenkov and then expelled them from the Party. And in the Mongolian People's Republic, where Khrushchov-follower Tsedenbal usurped the leadership of Party and state in 1959 and took his country down the unfortunate path of a Soviet colony and tool of anti-Chinese hysteria.

In spite of everything, Khrushchov's endeavors were only partly crowned with success. The communists of China, Albania, Korea and Vietnam opposed the revisionist theories in one or the other form and adhered to their previous Marxist-Leninist practice. Romania also increasingly refuses to comply with the political and economic dictates of the Soviet Union. Khrushchov employed every conceivable means, from blackmail to threats, against the staunch socialist countries and communist parties which did not follow his lead. In 1960, at the meeting of communist parties following the congress of the CP of Romania, Khrushchov unexpectedly pulled out a "document" full of slanders against the CP of China and demanded that all parties condemn China. The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania refused to condemn a fraternal party without even hearing its side. Numerous other parties supported the viewpoint of Albania so that Khrushchov's intention was foiled. In succeeding years he undertook everything to punish Albania for its resolute stand. When Albania suffered a crop failure in 1960, Khrushchov refused to supply grain. In his speech at the Moscow meeting of 1960 Enver Hoxha commented on this incident:

> During those critical days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons to give the Albanian people who are loyal brothers of the Soviet people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist camp, at a time when, through no fault of their own, they were threatened with starvation? Comrade Khrushchov had once said to us: "Do not worry about grain, for all that you consume in a whole year is eaten by mice in our country." The mice in the Soviet Union might eat but the Albanian people could be left to die of starvation until the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania submits to the will of the Soviet leaders.

Albania did not knuckle under, however, not even in 1961, when, in his final statement at the XXIInd Congress of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov went so far as to make the differences of opinion in the socialist camp a public topic for the first time, hurling epithets at Albania and openly calling for the overthrow of Albania's Party and state leadership. What pressures must Khrushchov have applied on parties that

were less steadfast than the Albanian and yielded to the revisionists' machinations?

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and its Transformation

In a section of the former socialist camp, gradually a block of countries emerged which were ruled by revisionists, were politically, militarily and economically closely linked with Soviet social-imperialism, and shaped their domestic and foreign policies essentially in accordance with the wishes of the social-imperialist leaders.

In what way does the restoration of capitalism influence the economy of these countries and their economic relations with the Soviet Union? Let us look at the changes in the economic policies of the people's democracies following the XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The young people's democracies found themselves in a very bad economic position after World War II. These countries almost all used to exist in semicolonial dependence on the imperialist countries. Countries like Albania, Bulgaria or Romania had practically no factories, and even in countries like Poland, Hungary or China, industry had developed one-sidedly and was geared to the interests of imperialist suppliers and customers. Great war damage was compounded by a trade boycott of the Western nations. The Soviet Union did all in its power at that time to help these countries develop into politically and economically independent nations.

The people's democracies took to heart the precept of Lenin and Stalin that a well-equipped heavy industry is the prerequisite for independent, all-round economic development. This line took into account the particular conditions in each country, but was based on the universally applicable principles of Marxism and on the joint need of the people's democracies for a more or less uniform industrial basis. This line did not by any means preclude trade and fraternal cooperation between the countries of the socialist camp, but assumed that each nation must rely chiefly on its own resources and be guided by the needs of its own people. In his report to the Fifth Party Congress of the Bulgarian communists, Dimitroff said:

> In building socialism our people must rely primarily on their own forces and on our country's resources, on their labor and savings, on the economic, expedient utilization of their means and possibilities.... Our people are happy that they can also rely on the disinterested brotherly aid of the great land of Socialism — the Soviet Union, and on the planned collaboration with the other People's Democracies, which will save much labor and efforts and will speed up our development. (Georgi Dimitrov: *Selected Works in 3 Volumes*, Sofia Press, 1972, Vol. 3, p. 331).

To ensure that trade and mutual assistance among the countries of the socialist camp took place in a planned way and on the basis of complete equality, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA, usually called "Comecon" in the West) was founded in 1949. Eight countries (Albania, Bulgaria, the G.D.R., Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary) had joined the CMEA by the end of 1950. Since the beginning of the sixties, the Mongolian People's Republic and Cuba have been taken in as full members, and Yugoslavia as associated member. Albania has ceased to participate in its work. Equality of the CMEA members was ensured by the fact that the decisions of the Council had to be unanimously approved by the governments of all member states before they could be implemented.

With the help of the Soviet Union, major industrialization projects were realized in all people's democracies. In most of them, iron and steel combines were set up by 1955. In Bulgaria, for example, where only eight percent of the people were employed in industry prior to liberation, iron and steel combines, power stations, chemical plants and mechanical engineering enterprises were established.

Steel output in China rose by 400 percent from 1949 to 1956. All countries took particular efforts to build on their own raw materials. The G.D.R., for example, developed the production of brown-coal coke for firing blast furnaces. Already in 1953, the total industrial output of all people's democracies of Europe was far more than double that of 1949.

This correct policy allowed the member states of the CMEA to overcome their backwardness and appreciably improve the living

conditions of their people. Had they adhered to this line of all-round socialist development of the economy they would certainly have even more impressive achievements to show today.

The reason why this did not come about was that a radical change took place in the economic policies of the CMEA countries. With the accession of revisionism to power in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the revisionist leaders dropped the principle of all-round, independent development of the economy and embraced the imperialist theory of the "international division of labor."

The principles of this revisionist policy were set forth by Khrushchov in his report to the XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.:

> Today it is no longer necessary for each socialist country to develop all branches of heavy industry, as had to be done by the Soviet Union, which for a long time was the only socialist country, and existed in a capitalist encirclement. Now, when there is a powerful community of socialist countries whose defence potential and security is based on the industrial might of the entire socialist camp, each European people's democracy can specialize in developing those industries and producing those goods for which it has the most favorable natural and economic conditions. (N.S. Khrushchov, *Report of the Central Committee to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party*, p. 10)

The new concept was explained even more clearly in the theoretical organ of the C.P.S.U., *Kommunist*, No. 1, 1959:

> For the people's democracies, with the exception of the People's Republic of China, the need did not arise to create entire industrial systems, for construction of which, moreover, the conditions are not as favorable as in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, which have great territories, tremendous natural wealth and greater human resources. Thanks to the fraternal unity and the steadily expanding economic cooperation between the countries of the socialist camp, international socialist division of labor is acquiring ever greater significance. It allows each country to develop its productive forces in such a way that, without copying the industrial structure of the Soviet Union, it can specialize in manufacturing those products for which it has the best natural and economic resources. For Albania, Bulgaria and the Mongolian People's Republic, for example, it would be impractical and disadvantageous to develop such

> branches of heavy machinery construction as motor vehicles, tractors, locomotives and forging presses. These industries have long since been created in the U.S.S.R. and several other fraternal countries, which are able to meet the needs of the entire socialist camp.... Autarkic tendencies have a very negative effect on the economies of the people's democracies, but a relatively minor effect on the Soviet economy.

Under the thin pretext that the people's democracies of Eastern Europe are smaller than the Soviet Union in size and population, it is suggested to them that they dispense with all-round development of the economy and concentrate on a few industries for which they are supposed to have "good prerequisites" due to their "traditional" underdevelopment. According to this logic, how such a small country as Belgium or a country so poor in raw materials as Japan were able to industrialize at all is unimaginable, quite apart from the fact that countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia are extremely rich in raw materials and have a substantially higher population density than the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it is supposedly "impractical and disadvantageous" if the people's democracies develop industries which have "long since been created in the U.S.S.R."

Instead, these countries ought to transform themselves into markets and ancillary processing shops of the Soviet Union. While it goes without saying that the Soviet Union develops all industries, as "autarkic tendencies" have no negative effect at all there, these "autarkic tendencies" suddenly are supposed to have a "very negative" effect in the people's democracies. Here we see that the "international socialist division of labor" takes place on a very unequal basis. Under these conditions, all the fine talk about "fraternal cooperation" cannot obscure the fact that the economies of the people's democracies are being subordinated to the Soviet Union and that the "economic integration of the socialist camp" is designed to perpetuate this, for it "successfully combines the interests of each country with those of the socialist camp as a whole" (Khrushchov), or, in plain language, with the interests of the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, which is interested in "combining" a number of countries with itself. The precondition for carrying out Khrushchov's line was

precisely the restoration of capitalism in several CMEA countries. As we have already explained, this restoration was favored or made at all possible by the inner weakness of the communist parties, by the revisionist and conciliatory tendencies within these parties. But taken all together, this basically did not add up to a restoration from within, as was the case, first, in Yugoslavia, and later in the Soviet Union. This restoration, to a decisive extent, was the result of the brutal interference of the Soviet revisionists in these countries, of treacherous intrigues, of clandestine clique-forming. These countries thus developed neither into independent social-imperialist powers like the Soviet Union, nor did they sell themselves to the Western imperialists, as Tito did. Rather they developed into colonies of social-imperialism.

Colonialism is a necessary consequence of imperialism. It is always an expression of imperialist policy today. Every colonialism is necessarily linked with imperialism, whether it takes the classic form of old colonialism, with military occupation and administration of defenseless countries; the neocolonialist form, with economic exploitation of formally independent countries; or the form of hog-tying formerly socialist countries and placing them under under the supreme control of the social-imperialist Soviet Union, partly with and partly without military occupation.

The Neocolonialist Exploitation of the CMEA Countries by Social-Imperialism

How does the "international socialist division of labor," as the revisionists say, work in practice? Generally speaking, the Soviet Union retains its all-around, balanced economy and is still able itself to produce most of the goods required for domestic consumption. The other CMEA members, however, increasingly specialize in certain products (which, as a rule, they are able to produce more cheaply than the Soviet Union), produce them in large quantities, and sell them to the Soviet Union and, to a certain degree, also to other CMEA countries or to the capitalist countries of the West or to the Third World.

On the one hand, they are dependent on the Soviet Union as a

market, because they cannot possibly themselves consume all the goods manufactured under the specialization regime. On the other hand, they are dependent on the Soviet Union (and to a certain degree on the other CMEA members and the capitalist countries in general) in respect to the import of the bulk of those goods in which they do not specialize, and for a large portion of the raw materials from which they make their special products. The Soviet Union, therefore, is still relatively autonomous, while the other CMEA countries are completely at the mercy of the Soviet Union. That is the meaning of the *"close community of interests"* which the social-imperialists love to speak about.

In **theory**, the relations within the CMEA are by no means bilateral relations between the country in question and the Soviet Union, but relations of *"all-round cooperation on the basis of equal rights"* between all CMEA members. In **practice**, however, it is just as we described above. Let us take Poland as an example. According to the "Small Statistical Yearbook of Poland for 1969," page 236, in 1950 Poland acquired 28.8 percent of its imports from the Soviet Union, 13.2 percent from Czechoslovakia, and 11.5 percent from the G.D.R. These were by far the three largest trading partners of Poland. One would expect the shares of Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. to have improved by 1968 since the CMEA supposedly promotes all-around cooperation. In fact, exactly the opposite has happened: the percentage of the Soviet Union has advanced to 34.5, while the share of Czechoslovakia has fallen to 8.0 percent, and the G.D.R.'s to 10.4 percent.

It is the same with exports. The Soviet Union's share rose from 24.3 percent (1950) to 36.5 percent (1968), while Czechoslovakia's share declined from 9.2 to 8.6 percent, and the G.D.R.'s from 13.9 to 8.0 percent (ibid. p. 238).

Poland is not an isolated case. In the German-language Soviet magazine *Neue Zeit*, No. 14, 1972, Matyas Szürös, a Hungarian, profoundly states, "Our country is connected with the economy of the Soviet Union by a thousand strings," and goes on to explain:

> In 1947 the Soviet Union accounted for 13.1 percent of Hungarian foreign trade. In 1955, it was 22 percent; in 1965, it was already 35.6

> percent; in 1970, 36 percent, and in 1975 it should be 39 percent according to plan. In 1970, 55 percent of our trade with socialist countries was done with the Soviet Union.... The role of foreign trade in the growth of Hungary's economy is evidenced by the fact that foreign trade provided for about 40 percent of national income in 1971.... The U.S.S.R. accounted [in the last five years - The Editors] for 41 percent of all Hungary's raw material imports. The Soviet Union met 90 to 100 percent of our import requirements for some products (petroleum, diesel fuel, nickel, iron ore, pig iron, timber for the paper industry, lining material for mines and roadways).

"The Soviet Union," writes *Izvestiya* of 23 November 1968, *"completely satisfies the requirements of the Czechoslovakian economy for petroleum."*

In 1956, Bulgaria got 33 percent of its imports from the Soviet Union. In 1968, it was 52 percent (*Statistical Yearbook, People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1969*, pp. 185/186). In 1956, Bulgaria purchased just about three fifths of its imported tractors in the Soviet Union, the rest in Czechoslovakia, Romania and the G.D.R. But in 1968 it purchased them to almost 100 percent in the Soviet Union (ibid., p. 210). Bulgarian imports of Soviet diesel oil rose from 19,000 tons in 1956 to 409,000 tons in 1968. In the same period, however, imports from Romania declined from 139,000 tons to 27,000 (ibid., p. 211). Bulgaria purchased 14,000 clocks from the Soviet Union and 41,000 from the G.D.R. in 1956. Yet in 1968 it purchased 666,000 from the Soviet Union and all of 600 from the G.D.R. (ibid., p. 217). These examples suffice to show that the economic relations between the CMEA countries are being geared more and more one-sidedly to the Soviet Union.

What is "international division of labor" specifically? Here a few examples:

The East German magazine *Wirtschaftswissenschaften*, No. 5, 1958, reports that it had been agreed in the CMEA that individual countries should specialize in certain types of machine cutting-tools. Of previously 25 types, Bulgaria now produced only 13; Hungary, now only 16 of 20 types; the G.D.R., 56 of 64; Poland, 35 of 40; Romania, instead of 14, only 6. There is no mention of limiting the number of

types in the Soviet Union. The Soviet *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 41, 1968, considers it

> impractical to produce combine harvesters in Hungary since the Soviet Union has vast experience in combine production. Hungary's farm machinery industry has therefore discontinued production of combines and is specializing on producing the D4-K tractor.

These are not isolated examples. F.N. Sevyakov writes in the East German magazine *Sowjetwissenschaft/Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge* (1969):

> Under the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, as they industrialize the socialist countries should ..., right from the start, integrate the factories which they plan on building in the system of international division of labor, and carry out industrialization on the basis of the internal and international market.

"International division of labor" has already been raised here to the overriding principle of the entire industrial development of the CMEA countries, to which each and every product must be subordinated. As already mentioned, in sectors which they have had to neglect in the course of specialization, the CMEA countries become dependent on Soviet supplies. According to the *Statistical Yearbook, People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1969*, page 68, Bulgaria produced 75,000 bicycles in 1960, but only 24,612 in 1968. It imported all of 400 Soviet bicycles in 1960, plus 4,008 from other countries such as Hungary, the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia. In 1968, Bulgaria had to import 30,123 bicycles from the Soviet Union and 588 from other countries (*ibid.*, p. 217). So the Soviet capitalists have not only grabbed the Bulgarian producers' own internal market but have also driven out the competition from the "fraternal countries."

A further example: Hungary reduced its output of tractors from 3,583 to 2,797 units in one year between 1967 and 1968 (*Statistical Yearbook 1968*, p. 98).The Soviet Union increased its exports to Hungary from 2,586 tractors in 1967 to 2,644 in 1968. Hungarian imports from Czechoslovakia plummeted from 2,104 to 525 units, while the G.D.R., which had sold 604 tractors to Hungary in 1967, was com-

pletely left out in the cold in 1968 (*ibid.*, p. 272).

Recently, the Soviet Union has attempted to take even greater advantage of the dependence of the Hungarian economy. Fr.Th. Zölch wrote in *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 8 June 1972 that

> Moscow is demanding from its partners that they make extensive investments in Soviet mining and production facilities and, in addition, supply the Soviet Union machinery, conveying equipment and other gear along with pipes and the like on a credit basis; credits which would then be repaid in the form of deliveries of raw materials. Evidently, to Hungary this appears to be asking just a little too much.

With their "international socialist division of labor" and "economic integration" the social-imperialists pursue the objective of transforming the CMEA countries into secure markets for Soviet products. The "integration" makes it more and more difficult for the countries dependent on social-imperialism to maintain their economic independence, or to disengage themselves and perhaps turn to other markets. That is one side of the coin. The other is that the "division of labor" allows the social-imperialists to invest surplus capital to promote foreign factories which then produce certain products for Soviet requirements more cheaply and profitably than Soviet factories can.

Significantly, neither Soviet sources nor sources from other CMEA countries (as far as we could determine) provide precise figures as to the volume of Soviet credits, let alone the level of indebtedness of the CMEA countries to the Soviet Union. The book of Soviet foreign trade minister Patolichev, entitled *USSR Foreign Trade: Past, present and future,* says only this much:

> "The Soviet Union has granted Bulgaria considerable long-term credits...." Or, in respect to the Mongolian People's Republic: "Soviet exports to the country exceed imports because of the big deliveries made under long-term credits extended to Mongolia."

What this means is shown by the balance of trade for 1971. The deficit in the Mongolian People's Republic's trade with the Soviet

Union was 92.2 million rubles and far exceeded the value of exports to the Soviet Union, which came to 71.5 million rubles. Consequently, we can assume annual debt contraction of 80 to 100 million rubles by the M.P.R. Part of this debt is forgiven in return for complete economic, political and military submission by the M.P.R., which the social-imperialists need as a staging area for future aggression against the People's Republic of China.

In his report to the XXIVth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., Brezhnev said that in the years 1966-1970 more than 300 industrial and agricultural projects were completed "in the socialist countries" with "technical assistance" from the Soviet Union. Proof that the CMEA countries are heavily dependent on credits is the establishment of the "International Investment Bank," which was founded in 1971 by the CMEA and has a capital stock of one billion transferable rubles, of which more than a third (399.3 million rubles) was provided by the Soviet Union. In the agreement on formation of the International Investment Bank we read:

> The chief task of the bank is the granting of long-term and medium-term credits for realizing projects in conjunction with international division of labor; specialization and cooperation in production; expenditure for the extension of the raw materials and fuels base in the mutual interest; implementation of projects in other branches of the economy which are of mutual interest for the economic development of the bank's member countries.

Thus, the social-imperialists not only aim to secure markets. They also export capital (in form of loans), just like other imperialists with the express reservation that the exported capital be spent on projects of "mutual interest"; that is, not in the interest of the receiving country, but in the interest of binding the receiving country to the donor country. (We want to go into more detail on this aspect of social-imperialist policy in the following section, in which we take a look at Soviet capital export to countries outside the CMEA.)

The neocolonialist dependence of the economies of the CMEA countries is the main point here. But this dependence permits the social-imperialists to practice additional exploitation through exorbi-

tant pricing and price manipulation. Since the CMEA countries are absolutely dependent on Soviet exports because of their unbalanced development, the social-imperialists can jack up the prices for Soviet products as they please. And since, on the other hand, these countries have no need for the special products which they produce in such large quantity, but are forced to sell them to the Soviet Union, the social-imperialists can run down the prices for these goods.

In **theory**, prices for trade between the CMEA members have an "objective basis," and that is "the world market prices, corrected to a certain extent" (*Voprosy Ekonomiki*, No. 8, 1968). These prices allegedly are oriented to the prices prevailing on the world market. They are "corrected" to a small extent, to "rid" them of the injustices of the world market. One would expect then that the Soviet Union as a rule sells its goods in CMEA countries for the same price as it sells them on the world market, i.e., in the capitalist countries, with only slight deviations which, as a rule, should work to the advantage of the weaker trade partner. In **practice**, however, the Soviet Union demands highly exorbitant prices from their CMEA partners, which are entirely out of proportion to the prices which they ask from the capitalist countries of the West.

We want to demonstrate this by the example of the trade of the Soviet Union with the two German states. In table 5 we have figured out how much the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. had to pay for the same Soviet export products in 1971, based on official Soviet foreign trade statistics. Those goods are not taken into account for which the source states only a value and not a quantity.

We have also left aside such products as "elevators and hoists," "petroleum and petroleum products" or "canned foods," since the products subsumed under such headings are so different that it makes no sense to work out a unit price. As one can see, for the great majority of the products listed, the prices for the F.R.G. are considerably lower — in some cases only half, or even less than half, of the prices which the G.D.R. had to pay.

As far as Soviet imports are concerned, comparison is more difficult because there are few products which the Soviet Union imports both from the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. One might mention caustic pot-

TABLE 5

The different prices for Soviet exports to the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. (1971), calculated on the basis of delivered quantity and proceeds in rubles. The export figures are taken from the Soviet foreign trade yearbook Vneshnyaya torgovliya SSSR za 1971 god, pp. 147-149 and 192/193.

Exported Goods	G.D.R.	F.R.G.
Anthracite coal	12.63 rubles/ton	6.94 rubles/ton
Iron ore	7.52 rubles/ton	6.19 rubles/ton
Manganese ore[1]	16.60 rubles/ton	16.07 rubles/ton
Chrome ore	37.97 rubles/ton	50.14 rubles/ton
Pyrite[1]	7.60 rubles/ton	6.89 rubles/ton
High-grade asbestos	121.37 rubles/ton	108.86 rubles/ton
Cast iron	39.98 rubles/ton	41.58 rubles/ton
Scrap iron	30.77 rubles/ton	25.88 rubles/ton
Magnesium	620.30 rubles/ton	571.20 rubles/ton
Benzol	71.10 rubles/ton	33.82 rubles/ton
Toluol	55.00 rubles/ton	26.14 rubles/ton
Methanol	50.09 rubles/ton	36.23 rubles/ton
Apatite concentrate	15.57 rubles/ton	12.15 rubles/ton
Pulpwood	13.81 rubles/m^3	16.01 rubles/m^3
Pine sawtimber	40.74 rubles/m^3	40.40 rubles/m^3
Plywood	118.46 rubles/m^3	141.67 rubles/m^3
Sulfite pulp	144.27 rubles/ton	142.14 rubles/ton
Sulfate pulp	126.55 rubles/ton	115.85 rubles/ton
Cotton staple	699.24 rubles/ton	617.64 rubles/ton
Flax tow	217.08 rubles/ton	174.65 rubles/ton
Guts	1.04 rubles/bundle	0.92 rubles/bundle
Wheat	66.04 rubles/ton	58.11 rubles/ton

[1] Figures for 1970 (prices calculated by us - The Editors)

ash: in 1971 the Soviet Union imported 2,725 tons from West Germany, for which it paid 554,000 rubles, or 203 rubles per ton (yearbook *Vneshnyaya torgovliya SSSR*, 1971, p. 195). 2,210 tons were imported from the G.D.R., for which 404,000 rubles, i.e. only 183

rubles per ton, were paid (*ibid.*, p. 153). For synthetic rubber from the F.R.G. the Soviet Union paid 697 rubles per ton (2,149,000 rubles for 3,164 tons; *ibid.*, p. 196). The G.D.R. received only a good half of this for one ton: 355 rubles (4,112,000 rubles for 11,252 tons; *ibid.*, p. 154). Because of these extortionate prices the CMEA countries have large trade deficits with the Soviet Union. The deficits are sensationally high in agrarian countries like the Mongolian People's Republic, which sharply curtailed its industrialization plans at the beginning of the sixties and concentrates chiefly on cattle raising. Mongolia's trade deficit, in millions of rubles:

	Import	Export	Deficit
1970	178.0	52.6	125.4
1971	163.8	71.5	92.3

(*ibid.*, p. 13)

In 1971, Cuba imported goods valued at 602 million rubles from the Soviet Union, but sold only 288.9 million rubles in goods there (*ibid.*, p. 15). Since 1957, the CMEA countries as a bloc have had an unfavorable balance of trade with the Soviet Union in every year except 1965.

2. The Economic, Political and Military Expansion of Social-Imperialism

Economic Penetration of the New Independent Countries by Social-Imperialism

Since the takeover by Khrushchov, and particularly since the beginning of the sixties, the Soviet leaders have launched into brisk economic and political activity in the young nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Visits of state and gestures of friendship went hand in hand with large Soviet loans to several young countries and with a sudden growth in trade between these countries and the Soviet Union. This was all on the pretext of "anti-imperialist struggle"

and "selfless economic aid." The Soviet "development aid" was made out to be a genuine alternative to the neocolonialist "foreign aid" of U.S. imperialism. Khrushchov and Kennedy competed in flattering one or the other head of state of a new independent country. Each offered more generous loans, more ambitious development projects, more technicians, consultants and specialists.

All these theatrics about "struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism" have not the slightest to do with sincere support of the oppressed peoples in their work of economic construction. But this cannot be expected of a country like the Soviet Union of today, which has already degenerated to a social-imperialist country. In reality, the Soviet revisionists were interested in nothing else but getting into the big business of neocolonialism and extending their new colonial empire beyond the borders of the CMEA. U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism ultimately aspire to the same goal: to use and perpetuate the economic backwardness of the young nations in order to export masses of capital and be able to control markets and raw material sources and exploit cheap labor.

Of course, the social-imperialists do not yet dare to set up factories, plantations or mines which are solely their property in foreign countries, as is common practice of the old imperialists. But there are different forms of capital export. Soviet capital export is chiefly a matter of credits and loans, a form which was already well known in Lenin's day. In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin illustrates this form by the example of France:

> French capital exports are invested mainly in Europe, primarily in Russia (at least ten thousand million francs). This is mainly *loan* capital, government loans, and not capital invested in industrial undertakings. Unlike British colonial imperialism, French imperialism might be termed usury imperialism. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 243)

Lenin goes on to say:

> The most usual thing is to stipulate that part of the loan granted shall be spent on purchases in the creditor country, particularly on orders for war materials, or for ships, etc. In the course of the last two

> decades (1890-1910), France has very often resorted to this method. The export of capital thus becomes a means of encouraging the export of commodities. (*ibid.*, p. 244)

Naturally, not every loan to a poor country has imperialist character. By providing interest-free or low-interest credits or making grants without strings attached, socialist countries can make a genuine contribution to the economic development of these countries. The developmental aid supplied by the former socialist Soviet Union since the 1920's to several young countries like China, Turkey and Afghanistan was a real support for the struggle of the peoples of these countries against imperialism and for their reconstruction. This task has been taken up today by the People's Republic of China, which provides generous assistance to numerous countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For Tanzania and Zambia China is currently building the Tanzam Railway, a 2,000 kilometer link costing DM 1.2 billion, financed with an interest-free credit running over 30 years.

As with the CMEA countries, Soviet policy towards the countries of the Third World is based on "international division of labor," specifically on the "utilization," or better, exploitation, of the "traditional" dependence of the poor countries. Thus, in his report to the XXIIIrd Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., Kosygin says:

> This cooperation [with the poor countries - The Editors] enables the Soviet Union to make better use of the international division of labor. We shall be able to purchase in these countries increasing quantities of their traditional export commodities — cotton, wool, skins and hides, dressed non-ferrous ores, vegetable oil, fruit, coffee, cocoa beans, tea and other raw materials, and a variety of manufactured goods. (*23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 258)

In an illustrative article entitled "The Economic Cooperation between the Socialist Countries and the Developing Countries" (*Narody Azii i Afriki*, No. 4, 1968; German in the G.D.R. magazine *Sowjetwissenschaften/Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge*, 1969, pp. 54 on; our translation into English from the German - The Editors), J.F.

Shamray also explains how "expedient" it is to "make use of the historically evolved specialization in the production of certain raw materials and products." But he goes a step further. The poor countries ought to

> export semifinished products along with unprocessed raw materials. This saves transport cost and also permits developing countries to increase their export revenue.... In the socialist countries, on the other hand, money can be saved by dispensing there with factories for primary processing of imported raw materials, which are not very profitable considering the economic structure of these countries.... Beneficial in this respect is that the socialist countries have increased the export to developing countries particularly of plant and equipment whose use there can create additional opportunities for exporting those products (or those raw materials, as the case may be) in which the socialist countries are interested. Such a solution is also advantageous to the developing countries because it permits them to pay for the deliveries from the socialist countries with products of the newly built factories and plants, to build up modernly equipped industrial enterprises, to utilize their capacities to the full, and so on.... The U.A.R. [United Arab Republic - The Editors], for example, will pay for the value of the cotton combine built by the G.D.R. with deliveries of spun cotton.

Word for word, this could just as well be a description of the neocolonialist practices of U.S. imperialism. The imperialists are always very quick to see that it is unprofitable to limit themselves in every case to importing raw materials from the poor countries, processing them in their own countries and re-exporting them. It is often much more advantageous for them to sell machines or even entire factories to the poor countries in order to process the raw materials there and export finished or semifinished products to the metropolitan countries. This way they not only cut manufacturing and transport costs. They can transfer entire industries which "are not very profitable considering the economic structure" of the imperialist countries to the "low-wage countries," where they are still extremely profitable. Such projects do not by any means serve to satisfy the needs of the population in the poor countries, just as they do not contribute to all-round, independent development of the economies

of these countries. They are not oriented to the internal market but to the profit interests of the imperialists. One can not even assert that such enterprises increase the income of the domestic bourgeoisie, since, as explained in the quoted passage, for a long time the "sale" of the products produced by the enterprises serves to repay the young country's debts to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union supplies the factory equipment and then claims the bulk of output for itself — unpaid for — as repayment of the loan. And by steadily selling the poor countries replacement parts and usually also certain raw materials, without which the factories cannot operate, the social-imperialists not only secure themselves a market, but get the poor countries even deeper into debt.

India's foreign trade minister Mishra announced, as reported by *Handelsblatt* of 26 May 1972, that the Soviet Union has offered to supply India "steel for the manufacture of bolts and screws for re-export to the U.S.S.R." The trade protocol for 1972 provides for India to supply the Soviet Union "above all storage batteries, electric cable, chemicals and paints along with textiles and cosmetics." The Bhilai steel mill, one of India's largest industrial enterprises, was built with Soviet credits and is presently being enlarged with Soviet help. Although the mill legally belongs to the Indian state, i.e., is collective property of the big landlords and bureaucratic capitalists of India, it is almost solely run by Soviet technicians, and a substantial portion of the steel output of this mill is delivered to the Soviet Union. An Indian newspaper wrote: "Russia ships the cotton which it bought in Sudan to India for processing and transports it back to Russia in the form of textile fiber."

Soviet foreign trade minister Patolichev writes in *Sowjetunion heute* No. 11, 1972:

> Further, it is important that our relations in an increasingly larger number of developing countries take on the character of a **stable division of labor**, which is the exact opposite of the imperialist system of exploitation of the economies of these countries. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Or as Shamray points out in the article quoted above:

> With such an orientation the relations of the socialist countries to the developing countries can build on a stable economic foundation. This stability is especially enhanced when such relations are established through credits, for the developing countries are then assured stable sales and the socialist countries a stable supply of certain products.

This means that the poor countries are to be so tightly bound to the Soviet Union that they must sell their products to the social-imperialists whether they want to or not.

A further means of enslaving the new independent nations is the sale of weapons. Exact figures are not available, of course. But it is generally known that the Soviet Union sells enormous quantities of weapons to countries like Egypt, India and Iran. One cannot object, of course, to the Soviet Union supplying weapons to Egypt to liberate its territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors. A different case is India, which pursues aggressive policies towards its neighbors China and Pakistan and, just like Iran, brutally suppresses the ever growing resistance of the masses. Through today, the Soviet Union has supplied weapons valued at about 300 million pounds sterling (DM 2.4 billion) just to India. The Shah's regime in Iran received some 200 million dollars in weapons from the Soviet Union through 1967. Whereas China, as Chiao Guan-hua underscored in a speech to the U.N. General Assembly on November 15, 1971, "provides military aid at no cost to the countries and peoples fighting against aggression" and refuses "to behave as an arms trader," the social-imperialists use the justified or unjustified weapons requirements of different countries to plunge them into debt and dependence.

An idea of the oppressive burden of debt placed by the imperialists on a number of countries is provided by Indian minister of finance Chavan, who stated that, in 1970, his country

> had to pay back to Japan even 33.7 million rupees more than it had received from the government in Tokyo as aid in form of credit. In the negative was also the capital aid of the World Bank (minus 116.2 million rupees), the Soviet Union (minus 212 million), Czechoslovakia (minus 71.7 million), Poland (minus 35.7 million) and Yugoslavia (minus 1.7 million). (*Frankfurter Rundschau* of 16 August 1971).

In the 1971/72 fiscal year, India, according to a report of *Handelsblatt* of 7 April 1972, is scheduled to receive 223.5 million rupees in new funds from the Soviet Union and simultaneously to pay back 409.1 million rupees. It is simply grotesque when E.K. Semenov writes in *Zusammenarbeit im Namen des Fortschritts* ("Cooperation in the Name of Progress"), Moscow, 1968:

> Relations in such form are particularly advantageous for the middle Indian bourgeoisie, which is not interested in joint ventures with the monopolies of the West, because this way they do not run the risk of losing their independence.

A note on the side: not only the Soviet Union but also other revisionist-ruled countries are involved in the "development aid" business. This does not mean that they have become independent imperialist powers. They continue to be colonies of Soviet social-imperialism themselves. Their capital export is only an extension of the Soviet, just as the "development aid" of Israel or the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which themselves are economically entirely dependent on the U.S.A., is only an extension of the economic aggression of U.S. imperialism. The subordinate revisionist countries not infrequently play the role of "pioneers," investing where the outlook for profit is still uncertain or where the Soviet Union does not yet want to involve itself because of political considerations.

Social-imperialism uses the tremendous debt of several young nations, made worse by weapons purchases in particular, to force them to deliver ever greater quantities of their raw materials to the Soviet Union. At the same time, it floods these countries with its products, impeding development of the local economy, and steadily deepens their indebtedness. The prices for the goods which these countries must sell are run down, while the Soviet goods are sold off at exorbitant prices.

The trade relations between the Soviet Union and several young nations acquire increasingly monopolistic character. G. Pavlov writes in *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn* No. 9, 1970:

> For example, Soviet deliveries account for 100 percent of U.A.R. imports of coal and oil products, 60 percent of crude oil imports and

more than 30 percent of sawn timber imports; Iranian imports of Portland cement are covered to 90 percent, sawn timber to 60 percent, and pig iron to 50 percent by Soviet deliveries.

On the other hand,

in 1968/69 the U.S.S.R. imported 98 percent of the woven goods, 87 percent of the garments and 85 percent of the rubber shoes exported by Iran. In India, Soviet purchases of men's shirts made up 55 percent of total national exports, purchases of leather shoes, 50 percent.

Of special significance was the plan of the social-imperialists to use the People's Republic of China as a raw material base for industrializing Siberia and East Asia. Through growing indebtedness to the Soviet Union, China was to commit itself economically to this project. This is clear from an article of M.I. Sladkov in *Vneshnyaya torgovliya* No. 10, 1957, Moscow, in which among other things it is said:

Utterly important for deepening and extending economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China will be the implementation of the sixth five-year plan (1956-1960) for developing the economy of the U.S.S.R., which envisions a large-scale industrial buildup in West and East Siberia and in East Asia, i.e., in areas which border directly on China.... The creation of a powerful industrial base in the East of the U.S.S.R. will permit the Soviet Union to satisfy the constantly growing demand of the People's Republic of China for plant and equipment. Deliveries from these areas will be three or four times faster than delivery from the Central European parts of the U.S.S.R., and the cost of rail freight will not exceed the cost of shipping from ports of Europe and America to Chinese ports.... China's tremendous reserves of tungsten, tin, molybdenum, mercury, lead and other nonferrous and precious metals and alloys and increased winning of these products permit the Chinese People's Republic to be chief supplier of these metals to the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, over a long period.

For monetary transactions with China, the Soviet Union used the clearing system, in which all payments between the two countries were settled on a ruble basis according to bilateral agreements. This disadvantaged the People's Republic of China because in this system

the ruble was valued higher than warranted by the official Moscow exchange rate or the international parity of the ruble. Owing to large deliveries of industrial equipment from 1950 to 1959, China's balance of trade showed an annual deficit. But as early as 1956, when the first differences between the now revisionist C.P.S.U. and the Communist Party of China came to light, China reduced its debts stemming from Soviet economic aid by stepping up deliveries of products. It accepted neither gifts nor cancellation of debt. China preserved its economic and political independence from the social-imperialists and was not about to be blackmailed when the social-imperialists withdrew their technicians, who took with them the blueprints of commenced or planned industrial projects, to damage China economically.

Today, the Soviet Union is India's second largest trade partner after the U.S.A. and has caught up with the old colonial power, Britain. If we take the Eastern European countries as a whole, in 1969/70, with imports amounting to 3,074.5 million rupees they already surpassed the U.S.A., whose imports valued 2,375.8 million rupees (source: *The Times of India Directory and Yearbook,* 1971, p. 178). The secret of Soviet success in India, apart from weapons supply, is that the social-imperialists succeeded in gaining control of key industries like the steel and electrical engineering industries. The enormous economic and political influence of the Soviet Union in India is completely out of proportion to the fact that it provided only 5.6 percent of the economic aid which India received between 1951 and 1970 and, with 6,520 million rupees in assistance, ranks only fifth behind the U.S.A., the World Bank, the F.R.G. and Britain (*ibid.*, p. 166).

Afghanistan is also one of the countries which depend most heavily on the Soviet Union. According to the statistical work *The Middle East and North Africa,* Volume XVII (London, 1971), page 131, Afghanistan received economic aid totalling 352.5 million dollars in the course of its second five-year plan (1962 to 1966/67). 65 percent of this came from the Soviet Union alone, 23 percent from the U.S.A., and 9 percent from the F.R.G. Significant military aid must be added to this. The Soviet Union is long since Afghanistan's largest trade partner. In 1967/68, Afghanistan exported goods valued at 5,018 mil-

lion Afghani. The Soviet Union alone took products amounting to 1,668 million Afghani. India followed in second place with less than half that, or 816 million (*ibid.*, p. 135). Table 6 shows how Afghanistan was disadvantaged in its trade with the Soviet Union at the beginning of the sixties, based on the four most important export products which the Soviet Union imported from the country at that time. (The Soviet Union meanwhile purchases mainly natural gas from Afghanistan.) As one can see, the Soviet Union pushes down

TABLE 6

Afghanistan's Exports to the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and India (1963/64)

		Soviet Union	U.S.A.	India
Dried fruit and nuts	Quantity[1]	10,566.6	47.8	10,273.1
	Value[2]	141,603	1,410	315,556
	Price[3]	13.40	29.50	30.72
Oilseed	Quantity	11,879.3	34.0	482.6
	Value	93,090	248	11,697
	Price	7.84	7.29	24.24
Wool	Quantity	3,969	255.4	10.2
	Value	276,700	39,175	2,991
	Price	69.71	153.35	293.24
Raw cotton	Quantity	12,733.3	—	342.8
	Value	470,715	—	12,735
	Price	36.97	—	37.16

[1] Quantity in tons

[2] Value in thousands Afghani

[3] Price in thousands Afghani/ton; 12.53 Afghani were 1 DM in 1963/64

Source: *Afghanistan's Foreign Trade 1335 through 1342*, publ. by Royal Afghan Trade Ministry, 1965, pp. 96, 98, 102, 103

Afghanistan's export prices even more than U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet Union is also Egypt's largest trade partner. Of overall exports worth 323.9 million Egyptian pounds, 107.0 million went to the Soviet Union already in 1969. India follows in second place with only 16.7 million (*ibid.*, p. 715). Egypt's most important export commodity is its cotton, which the English colonialists made the country's chief industry by force. In 1968/69, Egypt exported 4.783 million qantar cotton (1 qantar = 44.9 kg). Of this, the Soviet Union purchased 1.171 million qantar. Japan follows with 0.496 million qantar (*ibid.*, p. 716). Table 7 states the prices for several Soviet exports to Egypt (see following page). Those goods have been selected which both Egypt, the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. buy from the Soviet Union. The prices which Egypt has to pay are compared with those already figured out for the F.R.G. and G.D.R. in Table 5. As one can see, Egypt is disadvantaged even more than the G.D.R. Moreover, the greater distance of Egypt from the Soviet Union does not play a role since the transport costs are not included in the stated prices.

But the social-imperialists are still far from satisfied with their imperialist extra profits. Shamray, already cited, points out that the "commercial efficiency" of Soviet credits is still too "small" in many cases. Although he does not openly say so, what bothers him most is probably the fact that the young nations — usually precisely through the "development aid" — sink into such poverty that they are not in the position to repay their debts. "New, more effective forms of economic cooperation" must be sought, therefore. The social-imperialists no longer want to restrict themselves to the use of such primitive forms of capital export as credits. They finally intend to make the great leap to direct investment in foreign enterprises. As co-proprietors of foreign companies they are out to secure a permanent share of the profits squeezed out of the workers. For, as Shamray reports further, the search for such "new forms" of exploitation has

> recently led to certain changes in the theoretical and practical planning of cooperation. For example, in the socialist countries a discussion is currently under way over whether joint investment with developing countries in mixed enterprises is possible and appropriate.

TABLE 7

Soviet Exports to Egypt, Set Against Prices for G.D.R. and F.R.G.

	Quantity	EGYPT Value[1]	Price[2]	G.D.R. Price[2]	F.R.G. Price[2]
Anthracite coal[3]	499	7,561	15.15	12.65	6.94
High-grade asbestos[4]	3,476	489	140.67	121.37	108.86
Cast iron[3]	48	3,291	68.56	39.97	41.58
Scrap iron[3]	55.2	3,050	55.25	30.77	25.88
Plywood[5]	10.5	1,569	149.43	118.46	141.67
Sulfite pulp[4]	8,230	1,321	160.51	144.27	142.14
Sulfate pulp[4]	7,581	1,213	160,01	126.55	115.85

[1] Value in thousands of rubles
[2] Price in rubles/ton or rubles/cubic meter
[3] Thousands of tons
[4] Tons
[5] Thousands of cubic meters

Source: *Vneshnyaya torgovliya SSSR za god 1971*, pp. 283/284; values for G.D.R. and F.R.G. from table 5, page 176.

There were differences of opinion about this among revisionist economic theorists. Shamray lists the arguments of the opponents. It is interesting that apparently no one expressed scruples that such joint ventures openly bear the imprint of imperialist exploitation. No, the only considerations are that such direct investments are perhaps not "appropriate," that there might be differences about "how the surplus product is to be distributed," i.e., the profits. In spite of this the view has prevailed that such holdings are advantageous. According to Shamray, by 1968 a whole battery of such mixed enterprises had already emerged, among them a "mixed Bulgarian-Guinean company for tapping Guinea's forest reserves" and enterprises "with Polish participation in India, with Yugoslavian participation in Tan-

zania and Tunisia, and with Bulgarian and Soviet participation in Guinea and Ethiopia." As one can see, the subordinate revisionist countries play the role of pioneer. The revisionist country's share of the profit is realized in form of "delivery of products of this enterprise." Now, through the delivery of goods, not only the investments of the donor country are refunded; in addition, the revisionist countries receive a profit, also in form of goods deliveries. But since, for their part, they are treading new ground in imperialist dealings, the distribution of surplus value between donor country and domestic bourgeoisie must

> be in such proportion that the developing country concerned gives preference to a socialist country in selecting a partner. That means that the profit of the socialist country from investment will be appreciably smaller than the profit which the competing enterprises of capitalist countries reserve for themselves. At the same time, this profit must not only reimburse the socialist country for its actual expenses but also ensure a certain increase in the invested funds. (*ibid.*)

The initially smaller profit of the social-imperialists is no cause for concern, however:

> This can be explained by the fact that the economic advantages of the participation of a socialist country in a joint enterprise are not only realized in form of return on investment but also through other channels: enlargement of sales, securing of steady imports, and, as possible consequence of that, the avoidance of an extension of production that would be disadvantageous given the economic structure of the country, and so on. (*ibid.*)

These "advantages" are all long familiar from the Western imperialist countries. Here, too, capital export is a means of enlarging the export of goods. Here, too, through their direct control of foreign enterprises the imperialists can commit them to meet the import requirements of the metropolitan country. Here, too, the capitalists gladly dispense with extending production in their own countries if they can invest their capital more profitably abroad.

The only difference between these social-imperialist joint ventures

and those of the other imperialist countries is that the social-imperialists — as soon as they have extracted enough profit from an enterprise to pay for their share of investment and to ensure appropriate growth of their capital — allegedly hand over the enterprises "entirely to the administrators of the particular developing country." But the question is: how long will this take? Will the enterprise still be profitable then? Will it not be necessary by then to expand or renew the production facilities on a significant scale, which, due to the one-sided development of the receiving country, will only be possible with new investment by the Soviet Union?

Joint ventures represent a qualitatively new stage. If one country sells a factory to another country and merely demands payment of the value of the production facilities, then this is, by itself, not yet imperialism but simple trade. Socialist China sells factories to certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which immediately become full property of the particular country, which then only has to pay the value of the production facility. We might note that China very often sells such factories for less than their value, or even gives them away. It is also common for China to purchase entire plants from Western capitalist countries and pay for them. But it is something altogether different when an imperialist country is **co-owner** of an enterprise, when it appropriates a fixed share of the **surplus value** beyond the cost of the production facilities. Imperialism begins here. And exactly that is the case with the Soviet joint enterprises.

To justify this unveiled capitalist exploitation of the poor peoples the revisionist theoreticians do not shrink from even the most primitive falsifications of Marxist economic theory. Marx, as we know, proved that the value of the production of a given factory comprises three elements: the constant capital (c) (the value of the production equipment and the raw materials and supplies); the variable capital (v) (wages); and the surplus value (m). Surplus value results solely from labor time for which the workers are not paid. It is therefore created by the workers alone. Even the finest machines and raw materials cannot supply more value than has already been put into them during their production by the workers. The capitalist can bring the workers to create greater surplus value through rationalization of

production, but he himself cannot produce value, let alone surplus value. Marx exposed those vulgar economists who ultimately sought merely to prove the absurd thesis that the capitalists also contribute to the creation of surplus value. The intention of these people was to justify capitalist exploitation. Marx, however, taught: only the workers can produce surplus value, and when the capitalists appropriate it, this is nothing but theft, exploitation.

These are basic truths of Marxism. Nonetheless, an alleged Marxist theoretician, our friend Shamray, manages to write the following at the end of his frequently cited article:

> But since ... only human labor can produce value and surplus product (or net profit), the surplus product created in a joint enterprise **as a rule** is the result of the work of the workers of that country in which the joint enterprise is located. It goes without saying, therefore, that this country lays claim to the surplus value produced in the particular enterprise. But the volume of the surplus product (or net profit) produced in this enterprise is not directly dependent on the number of workers. The absolute value of m is doubtlessly influenced by a number of other factors, for example, the plant necessary for work, the supply of funds, energy and materials, the qualifications of the workers, the organization of labor, et cetera. Thanks to the participation of the socialist country, among other things the prerequisites for the supply of plant, for the training of skilled workers, and for putting the plant into service have been created. **So it is only natural that the participating country receive a corresponding share of the net profit (m).** All these complicated economic relationships must reflect in the methods of distributing the surplus product (net profit) and be the starting point for determining the criteria for distribution. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

The distortions already begin when the fact that the surplus value — not "as a rule," but always — is the result of the labor of the **workers** of each country is construed by the author to mean that the **"country,"** i.e., the state, the domestic bourgeoisie, has a right to the surplus value. Yes, the bourgeoisie of the young nations has a right to the surplus value, because these are capitalist countries. And in capitalism, the surplus value, like the factories and production in general, belongs to the bourgeoisie, of course. The bourgeoisie in

these countries naturally has just as little to do with the **production of surplus value** as Mr. Brezhnev in distant Moscow, or like anyone else save the workers. This our "Marxist" theorist does not say, for if he did, he would have to state the corollary, namely: Brezhnev and Company only lay "claim" to the surplus product because they are genuine capitalists, because they are co-proprietors of capitalist enterprises all over the world. Instead, he presents the theory — diametrically opposed to Marxism — that the "plant necessary for work, the supply of funds, energy and materials" and the instruction by Soviet training staff create surplus value. What he is up to here is nothing else but the glorification of imperialism. What he is saying is nothing else but, "exploitation is justified."

The Soviet Policy of Political and Military Extortion

Imperialism produces war and the danger of war by inner necessity. The imperialist countries incessantly step up their war preparations. Their entire policies, at home and abroad, are determined by militarism, armament, and chauvinist agitation. They miss no opportunity to lord it over weaker countries, to pressure them, threaten them, interfere in their internal affairs under any pretext, and to subjugate them.

This general truth also precisely describes the social-imperialism of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. They have subjugated almost all countries of the CMEA and several other nations not only economically, but also politically and militarily. At the same time they make preparations for a war to redivide the world and subjugate more nations.

The bloody, aggressive nature of social-imperialism was demonstrated to the entire world during the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia in August, 1968. At the beginning of 1968, the revisionist Dubcek group had taken over power in Czechoslovakia. It attempted to lessen the political and economic dependence of its country on the Soviet Union and, instead, move closer to the imperialists of the U.S.A. and West Germany. Dubcek's line was a reflection of the growing contradictions between the social-imperialists and the revisionist leaders of the Eastern European countries. It was the en-

deavor of the latter to make themselves more independent of the Soviet Union in restoring capitalism and to keep a larger share of the spoils for themselves. The Dubcek clique took advantage of the Czechoslovakian people's dissatisfaction with the plundering of their country by social-imperialism. This development was extremely unpleasant for Brezhnev and consorts. They feared that more peoples would resist their dictates. For this reason they launched a big propaganda campaign against the Czechoslovakian leaders and increasingly conducted military exercises along the Czechoslovakian border. Finally, on the night of August 20, 1968, troops of the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia — surreptitiously, surprisingly, without prior warning — and occupied the entire country within a few hours. To feign an "international action" and not have to take the whole blame themselves, they forced the G.D.R., Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria also to take part in the occupation. But their troops soon left again, whereas the Soviet units maintain the occupation through today, despite all the promises of "limited" occupation.

This invasion was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of an independent nation and has nothing at all in common with the events in Hungary in October, 1956. Because then, the Soviet Union was called on by the legitimate leadership of the Hungarian people, the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, which was guided by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, to help the Hungarian working people defend their people's democracy. The Soviet Union fulfilled its internationalist obligations. In 1968, by contrast, capitalist restoration had long since been carried out in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia. Even if the Czechoslovakian leaders had requested the Soviet Union to invade their country to oppress the people, this would not have been international help, but a case of imperialists doing the dirty work for their lackeys, comparable to the invasion of the U.S. imperialists in Cambodia. Fact is, the Party and state leadership in Czechoslovakia did not call in the Soviet troops. On the contrary, all leading Czechoslovakian revisionists, Husak included, vehemently disowned the invasion. The social-imperialists shamefacedly published an "appeal of leaders of Party and government of Czechoslovakia," but to this day no one has said who

is supposed to have signed this "appeal." The social-imperialists soon dropped the "appeal" and instead whisked away Dubcek, Svoboda and other Czechoslovakian leaders to Moscow, where they gave their blessing to the Soviet invasion after a few days. Perhaps they saved their lives by doing so. But this completely discredited them in the eyes of the people. Today, at any rate, Czechoslovakia is chained as fast to the social-imperialist colonial empire as never before.

We already briefly referred to the true causes of the events in Czechoslovakia. What interests us here is the arguments with which the social-imperialists justify their aggression, but which in reality lay bare their imperialist essence.

The Soviet leaders assert that the socialist system in Czechoslovakia was in danger. And since the Dubcek clique had not taken adequate measures to "prevent counterrevolution," the Soviet revisionists had to "defend the achievements of socialism." "We were **bound** to do so by our class duty, loyalty to socialist internationalism, and **the concern for the interests of our states** and the future of socialism and peace in Europe," as Brezhnev put it at the XXIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (*Report of CPSU Central Committee ... delivered by L. Brezhnev*, p. 17. Emphasis added by us - The Editors.)

So the Soviet revisionists want to defend the "future of socialism"? *They* were the ones who abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and practice all-round restoration of capitalism. The "achievements of socialism" in Czechoslovakia were endangered? No, revisionist lords and masters, they were not endangered, they were long defunct. You were the ones, together with flunky Novotny and others like him, who tread all over the great work of Klement Gottwald and the Czechoslovakian working class.

As an example of the danger which is supposed to have threatened the alleged socialism in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists like to mention the revisionist economic theories of Ota Sik, which, as they report to have discovered with dismay, ultimately lead to a restoration of capitalism. We are in complete agreement on this point. But what specifically did Ota Sik advocate? Basically, his thoughts on "improving" the socialist economy do not differ from

those of his honored Soviet mentor Lieberman. They went no further than the theories of many a revisionist economic "reformer" in the Soviet Union, the G.D.R., Poland or Hungary. Up to the invasion of August, 1968, his works were textbooks in the universities of the revisionist countries. For example, Ota Sik's shoddy work *Ökonomie — Interessen — Politik* ("Economics, Interests, Politics") was published in German in 1966 by Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, the official Socialist Unity Party publishing house, with an "introductory note" extolling it as "a very interesting work," "an important contribution," with "very many interesting proposals for answers to numerous topical issues of comprehensive socialist construction," with "extremely important chapters," and so forth.

On other occasions they say that the "counterrevolutionaries" had planned to tear Czechoslovakia out of the socialist camp and feed the country to the U.S. imperialists and West German revanchists. But who was it who broke up the socialist camp with their anti-Marxist divisive activities in the first place? Who brings the West German and Japanese imperialists into their country to let them exploit their raw materials and labor? Who conspires with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the peoples? It was Khrushchov, Brezhnev and consorts, who now so eagerly defend the "socialist camp" — and no one else but.

Yet even if the Soviet Union were still a socialist country, that would give it no right to armed interference in the affairs of another socialist country against the will of the government, the communist party and the people of that state. Recognition of the right of the peoples to self-determination is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. The constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1936, worked out under Stalin's leadership, even acknowledges the right of the union republics, which had gone together voluntarily, to leave the U.S.S.R. again. The Moscow Declaration of 1957, unanimously accepted by the communist parties of all socialist countries, laid down the following:

> The socialist countries base their relations with each other on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of the others.... All matters pertaining to relations between

> socialist countries can be fully settled by comradely discussions on the basis of strict adherence to the principles of socialist internationalism. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

With their occupation of Czechoslovakia the social-imperialists threw the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 out the window and created the anti-Marxist theory of "limited sovereignty."

In *Pravda* of 26 September 1968, S. Kovalev writes:

> One must not ignore the claims raised here and there that the actions of the five socialist countries supposedly contradict the Marxist-Leninist principle of sovereignty and the right of nations to self-determination. Such claims are groundless, above all because they approach the question of sovereignty and national self-determination in an abstract way and not from a class viewpoint. There is no doubt that the peoples of the socialist countries and the communist parties have and must have the freedom to determine their country's road of development. **However**, any decision of theirs must neither be detrimental to socialism in their country, nor to the fundamental interests of the other socialist countries, nor to the international workers' movement struggling for socialism. This means that every communist party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all socialist countries, to the entire communist movement. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Kovalev takes the recognition of sovereignty into his mouth only to promptly spit it out again. Sovereignty, yes, but only if you follow the Soviet-revisionist rules, if you do not harm our "fundamental interests." This is the same gangster logic as all imperialists use. The social-imperialists openly admit that they have violated the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, that they were not called by any leaders of Party and state. Who decides whether the Czechoslovakian leaders are doing something "detrimental to socialism in their country"? On the grounds of what resolution of a meeting of the communist world movement do the social-imperialists claim the right for themselves and four of their lackeys to judge this or that party, to decide who is damaging "socialism" and who is not? There is no such resolution which they could cite.

In a speech at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on November 13, 1968, Brezhnev stated:

> Socialist countries are for strict observance of the sovereignty of all countries. We are thorough opponents of interference in the affairs of any country, of violation of their sovereignty.... But [Of course a "but" follows! - The Editors] as all know, comrades, there are common natural laws of socialist construction, and deviating from them could lead to deviation from socialism itself. And if ... in a given country a threat emerges to the socialist cause in that country, a threat to the security of the socialist community as a whole, then it is no longer merely a problem of the people of that country, but a common problem, a matter for all socialist countries. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

The words of all imperialists have such a similar ring! Every time they commit an aggression, the U.S. imperialists also claim they have to stop a "threat to the free world." Brezhnev's "socialist community" is nothing but a poor copy of the "free world" of the U.S. imperialists. Their "security" is merely the security of social-imperialist interests in exploitation. The sovereignty of oppressed peoples must bow to the "natural laws" of the imperialist wolves. Subordination of the sovereignty of other countries to the interests of social-imperialism, limited sovereignty of all other countries but unlimited exercise of power by social-imperialism: that is the essence of the aggressive, chauvinistic policies of the Soviet revisionists towards the "fraternal countries."

Another form of this same logic is the theory of "international dictatorship." In his speech at the November 6, 1968, Moscow meeting on occasion of the 51st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, K.T. Mazurov dealt with the invasion of Czechoslovakia, explaining:

> Lenin had foreseen that historical development will pose the problem of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an international one, capable of decisively influencing the entire world policy. Following Lenin's behests, the people of the socialist countries united and created the socialist community of equal countries for the very purpose of jointly defending their vital interests and

> the historical gains of the working people, and to conduct the policy of the working class, the policy of socialism, in the international arena....
>
> In their Bratislava Statement, permeated with the spirit of socialist internationalism, the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia unanimously reaffirmed the principle that support for and consolidation and defence of their gains, which were won at the cost of heroic efforts and self-sacrificing labor of each nation, "are the common internationalist duty of all socialist countries." (*Following Lenin's Behests*, p. 18)

What did Lenin actually say? In his "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions," Lenin speaks of the task of the proletariat

> of converting the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national dictatorship (i.e., existing in a single country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat involving at least several advanced countries, and capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole). (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148)

It is rather ironical that the same revisionists who replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat by a "dictatorship of the whole people" now suddenly want to revive the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that even in the form of an "international" dictatorship. For the revisionists it's as simple as that. By contrast, Lenin made clear that "international dictatorship" means nothing more than dictatorship of the proletariat in several countries, not a "joint" dictatorship which is allowed to interfere at will in this or that socialist country to look after some "common vital interests." It is even more far-fetched to use Lenin's words as justification for a single country to declare itself ruler of the socialist camp and exercise an "international dictatorship" against all other countries. In the same article, namely, Lenin goes on to say:

> Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. Quite

> apart from the fact that this recognition is purely verbal, petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital. (*ibid.*)

Don't these words fit the bourgeois nationalism of the social-imperialists to a T? For them, too, recognition of "equality" (as Mazurov also says in his speech) is "purely verbal," while in reality they practice oppression and enslavement of nations. They do not subordinate their interests to "the interests of the proletarian struggle on a world-wide scale." Instead, they mean to subordinate the entire communist world movement to their imperialist interests. They try to pass off Lenin's internationalist teachings on the duties of communist parties to the communist world movement as a justification for the subjugation of nations to an imperialist Great Power. That is an outrageous insult to Lenin.

Meanwhile, Brezhnev loudly claims that there was "never a theory of limited sovereignty," that it was all an "invention" of Western propaganda, et cetera. So why does he not repudiate the occupation of Czechoslovakia? Why does he not apologize to the Czechoslovakian people and withdraw his tanks, his soldiers and his Quislings? In reality, nothing has changed in the propaganda, not to speak of the practice, of the social-imperialists. Today the revisionist theorists even drop the empty talk about "equality" and openly act the part of masters of the revisionist camp. "It would be oversimplifying to measure the role of each country by the same yardstick," writes *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn* No. 3, 1972. The magazine then emphasizes:

> Can one ignore, for example, the role played by the U.S.S.R., one of the world's Great Powers, in realizing an active policy of socialism and in strengthening the economic and military potential of the socialist world system? For any country to ignore this, or to even place itself in opposition to the Soviet Union would be to damage mainly its own vital interests. The consequences could be very serious for

> this country.... The principles of independence and sovereignty will very quickly become fiction if one does not enjoy the real and effective support of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries.

This article is part of a campaign which the Soviet propagandists have been conducting against Romania for some time. Indeed, the Czechoslovakian people can attest to how "serious" the "consequences" can be if one places oneself "in opposition" to the social-imperialists. How quickly independence and sovereignty become "fiction" when one no longer enjoys the favor of the social-imperialists. These words are an unveiled threat to anyone who does not knuckle under to the Great Power chauvinists in the Kremlin.

Since their invasion of Czechoslovakia the social-imperialists have heightened their aggressiveness. In his speech to the Supreme Soviet on 10 July 1969 Gromyko trumpeted:

> Consequently, as a major world power with extensively developed international contacts the Soviet Union cannot regard passively events which though territorially remote, nevertheless have a bearing on our security and the security of our friends.

The social-imperialists accordingly interfere in the internal affairs of countless countries. On one occasion, they want to dictate to the Finns what Finnish newspapers are allowed to print. On the next, they want to tell countries of Latin America or Iceland how far they can extend their territorial waters or fishing rights. On the third occasion, they go and engineer a military coup, as in Sudan, and attempt to overthrow the government.

The Social-Imperialist Policy of War Preparation and Military Expansion

The social-imperialists are making intensive preparations for war. In the last three years the number of Soviet divisions along the border to China has been raised from 15 to 45. The Soviet embassies in many countries have been turned into centers of espionage and subversion. The social-imperialists have stationed occupation forces not only in several states of Eastern Europe and the Mongolian People's Republic. In Egypt, three military bases have been provided for ex-

clusive use by the Soviet military. The Egyptian government recently expelled some 15,000 Soviet military advisors because it saw them as a threat to the country's independence.

The Soviet navy plies all the seas of the world and thereby seriously jeopardizes world peace. According to *Jane's Fighting Ships*, the standard reference work on the world's navies, the Soviet Union has

- 408 submarines, including 95 atomic submarines, missile-equipped;
- 12 guided-missile cruisers;
- 15 cruisers;
- 2 helicopter carriers;
- 35 guided-missile destroyers;
- 66 destroyers;
- 130 frigates;
- 258 escort vessels;
- 330 minesweepers;
- 145 missile-armed fast patrol boats;
- 200 fast patrol boats with torpedoes;
- plus hundreds of auxiliary craft.

This huge fleet, hardly smaller than the U.S. Navy, does not at all serve only to defend the Soviet Union, but primarily to enforce social-imperialist policy around the world.

There was a time when the Soviet Union opposed the plans of U.S. imperialism to force the countries bordering international straits to let U.S. warships pass unhindered and without specific permission. As late as 1958, the Soviet government voiced the following reservations regarding the international "Convention on Territorial Seas and Contiguous Zones":

> The government of the U.S.S.R. is of the opinion that a coastal country has the right itself to determine the procedures for permitting passage of foreign warships through its territorial waters.

In his 24 March 1972 statement to the U.N. Committee on the Use of the Sea Bed, however, the Soviet representative took the same position as the U.S.A. and vociferously pleaded for "freedom of passage" through ocean narrows, emphasizing that not recognizing this

freedom would make "realization of the freedom of the high seas practically impossible." The Soviet Union cooked up a plan with Japan to "internationalize" the Straits of Malacca, which lie between Indonesia and Malaysia and over which both these countries wish to exercise their territorial rights.

More and more countries oppose the adventurist naval policies of the social-imperialists. Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and other countries favor declaring the Indian Ocean a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Algeria, Libya and other Mediterranean countries condemn the presence of American and Soviet war fleets in the Mediterranean sea. Algerian chief of state Boumedienne recently said:

> The Mediterranean sea belongs to the Mediterranean countries. Foreign warships and naval bases in the Mediterranean must be removed. The Mediterranean must be a sea of peace.

Pushed into a corner by the resistance of the peoples, the social-imperialists take recourse to the most ridiculous arguments. Vice-admiral N. Smirnov writes in *Krasnaya zvezda* of 12 November 1968 that the Soviet Union "as all know, is a Black Sea power and therefore a Mediterranean power." It is just that the Black Sea is separated from the Mediterranean by 300 kilometers of waterways through Bosporus, Sea of Marmara and Dardanelles, all Turkish waters. A Swiss journalist brightly remarked that by the same strange logic Switzerland could claim to be a North Sea power since the Rhine flows into the North Sea.

When Marshal Grechko "visited" the Mediterranean in June of 1971 with a large Soviet war fleet, he was accompanied by an *Izvestiya* journalist who ebulliently described the thrilling event on June 15, 1971:

> And now we enter the Mediterranean. Russian mariners have sailed this sea since ancient times. Many famous naval victories of our people are associated with it. As far back as the days of the Kievan Rus (state) an agreement was signed giving the Slavs the right to unimpeded navigation of the Black and Mediterranean seas. Later, such Russian admirals as Ushakov, Senyavin, Lazarev, Istomin and Makarov heaped eternal glory on their ensigns here. Russian naval

squadrons were always present in the Mediterranean and protected Russian state interests. No, we are not guests on this sea!

Who were these "glorious" personages? Were they perhaps popular heroes from the days of the civil war, or members of the crew of battle cruiser *Potemkin*? Far from it! F.F. Ushakov, for example, was an admiral in the czarist navy who played a leading role in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-1791 and in the Mediterranean battles of 1798-1800, i.e., in two criminal ventures of Russian colonialism. Rear admiral V.I. Istomin perished in 1855 in the Crimean War, in which czarism vainly attempted to break loose the Balkans, the Bosporus and the Dardanelles from Turkey, a war of which Lenin said, it "demonstrated the rottenness and impotence of feudal Russia." Vice-admiral S.O. Makarov died in 1904 in the Russo-Japanese war, a brawl between Russian and Japanese imperialism over dividing up China. M.D. Lazarev and D.N. Senyavin were also high-ranking officers of the czarist navy at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

By propagating such models the social-imperialists show only too clearly whose policies they carry on. Penetration of the Mediterranean was always one of the chief goals of aggressive czarism. Russia entered World War I hoping above all to be able to carve up Turkey and take the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. The pillaging raids with which the old czars wreaked havoc on the peoples of Russia are the "glorious" models for the policies of the social-imperialists, these new czars. But we remind them that the peoples of Russia called the old czars to account for their politics. Their fate will be the same.

Social-imperialism's preparations for war are not by any means restricted to naval affairs. With their nuclear armament the social-imperialists present an even greater threat to the peoples of the world. When the socialist Soviet Union developed the atomic bomb after World War II and broke the nuclear monopoly of the U.S.A., it was an important step to protect world peace and deter U.S. warmongers. At the same time, however, the Soviet Union resolutely fought for a ban on atomic weapons. Today, People's China continues this communist tradition. For many years China has been calling for the convocation of a summit conference of all countries on the

globe, regardless of whether they possess nuclear weapons or not, to resolve to ban and destroy all such weapons and to work out an agreement for the relinquishment of the use of nuclear weapons as a first step.

Since the day it tested its first atomic device, China is the only nuclear power in the world which has solemnly declared never and under no circumstances to use atomic weapons first, and never to use them against a non-nuclear power. The Chinese government has called on the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to make similar declarations. They have not yet done so, though even the well-known British military strategist B.H. Liddell-Hart also has called for such a declaration in his book *Strategy*, saying:

> It will be critically important to state as clearly as at all possible that we shall undertake no general nuclear bombardment of cities and no devastation of countries as long as the other side does not either.

Instead, the superpowers have devised the swindle of a "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" giving the nuclear powers the right to continue arming themselves with nuclear weapons at a feverish pace, while all other countries would be subject to the nuclear threats and blackmail of the superpowers.

The superpowers U.S.A. and Soviet Union have incorporated nuclear war in their military strategies. In the book of Marshal V.D. Sokolovski entitled *Militärstrategie* ("Military Strategy"), published in Moscow in 1963, we read:

> An important principle of Soviet military doctrine is that world war, should it be unleashed by the imperialists, will necessarily be missile and nuclear warfare, that means an encounter in which nuclear weapons will be the chief weapons and missiles the most important means of getting them to their targets.
>
> The massive employment of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the unlimited ability to deliver them to any target within minutes by means of missiles make it possible to achieve resounding military successes in the shortest time over any distance and over vast areas.
>
> Special consideration must be given to the point that, given the current state of international relations and the current level of mili-

tary technology, every military conflict will automatically grow into a general nuclear war if nuclear powers are drawn into this conflict....

According to figures compiled by foreign experts, the U.S.A. had about 40,000 nuclear explosive devices at the beginning of 1963. The U.S.S.R. also has more than enough of these weapons. Under these conditions, scientists have calculated that the first nuclear strike would already cost the lives of 700-800 million people and destroy all major cities in numerous countries....

The theory of Soviet strategy provides for most extensive use of conventional weapons even under the conditions of missile and nuclear warfare, and for skilfully coupling their deployment with that of the nuclear weapons to complement the latter....

Changing the equipment of the country's air defense forces from antiaircraft artillery to antiaircraft missiles has brought extraordinary advantages. This is clearly proven by the following fact: during the last war, antiaircraft artillery required an average of 400 to 600 shells to destroy one enemy plane; a modern airplane which attains enormous speeds, and altitudes which are twice that which can be reached by antiaircraft shells, can be shot down with the first, and at the very utmost, with the second missile.

The treaty on "strategic arms limitation" recently signed in Moscow also does not mean a reduction of the weapons arsenals which the two imperialist superpowers have built up against the oppressed peoples, but merely places a certain limit on defensive weapons with which attacking missiles can be shot down. Its only significance is to ease the financial strain on the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to put them in a better position for unimpeded oppression of other peoples. All other "disarmament" proposals of the two imperialist superpowers have a similarly deceptive character. To this day, neither the U.S.A. nor the Soviet Union have begun to limit their military expenditures, their number of men under arms, or their war threats. Under the cover of "disarmament" talks they have both stepped up their preparations for war and invented even more inhuman weapons of mass destruction.

But whoever believed up to now that the social-imperialists would limit themselves to securing their own sphere of interest, that they perhaps would brutally suppress resistance against their domination within the revisionist camp, but had no aggressive intentions out-

side, should finally know better since the events of late 1971 on the Indian subcontinent. We briefly recall to the reader how the social-imperialists whetted the expansionist appetite of the Indian reactionaries since mid-1971; how they signed a "treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation" with India and — hardly was the ink dry — how the Indian expansionists invaded East Pakistan with their new Soviet weapons; how Soviet U.N. delegate Malik used delay tactics to postpone any U.N. resolution until India had completed its occupation of East Pakistan; how, following the occupation of East Pakistan, the Soviet Union, together with India, Bhutan and half a handful of revisionist countries, opposed the entire rest of the world and voted against a mutual troop withdrawal. We also briefly call to mind the criminal arguments with which the social-imperialists glossed over this cold-blooded aggression; how they tried to concede the Indian reactionaries, who oppress the populations of all nationalities and religious groups of India and play them off against each other, the right to interfere in Pakistan's nationality problems and, under the banner of "self-determination," conquer a part of the neighboring country to install a puppet government there.

Basically, this is simply transferring the theory of "limited sovereignty" to the accomplices of social-imperialism: as allies of the Soviet Union the Indian expansionists are allowed to "limit" the sovereignty of their neighbors on flimsy grounds, to simply declare parts of another country "independent states," and to exercise an "international dictatorship."

There can be no doubt that it was the Soviet leaders who really pulled the strings of this invasion. Without their encouragement, India would never have dared to undertake such a venture. Just as Israel does the dirty work of the U.S.A. in the Middle East and divests other countries of huge territories at its own discretion, so too has India become a tool of social-imperialist aggression in South Asia. The Soviet leaders aim to extend their political and economic spheres of influence with the help of India. They intend to create even tighter bonds with India, establish naval bases in the Bay of Bengal, intensify the hostile encirclement of China, and encourage India to make a new assault on the bastion of socialism.

That is the revisionist road: from the restoration of capitalist exploitation in their own country to the economic penetration of other countries, including military aggression. Brezhnev and Company have adopted the bloodstained tradition of the old czars, and even go further than them. The Soviet Union, which the proletarians and oppressed peoples of the entire world regarded with respect and love for forty years, is today, along with the U.S.A., the most powerful stronghold of world reaction, international exploitation, and militarism. There was a certain malicious pleasure in the finding of the American *U.S. News and World Report* of 5 January 1970: "We've discovered that they [the Russians - The Editors] blunder as badly as we do — if not worse."

But, ultimately, both will be brought to grief by the revolutionary will of the peoples. The exploited and re-enslaved peoples will wage their struggle both against U.S. imperialism and against social-imperialism — against all imperialists — to free themselves of the yoke of neocolonialism and build a world of peace, independence and brotherliness.

3. The Economic Integration of Social-Imperialism in the Imperialist System and the Contradictions on a World Scale

The Economic Interpenetration of the Imperialist Blocs

The political alliances, the economic agreements between the imperialists have only temporary, tactical significance, as Lenin writes in "On the Question of Dialectics":

> The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 360)

The question of economic collaboration between social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers is a splendid example of this dialectical law.

It has always been the practice of the monopoly capitalists of different countries to make economic agreements, to support each other financially, to exchange licenses and patents, and to divide the world's markets amongst themselves. One monopolist wants to improve his economic position with the help of another against a third and acquire new technologies. The partners make deals in an attempt to eliminate the competition. The monopolists prefer to have many bedfellows: Japan, for example, joins with the EEC against the U.S.A., while making arrangements with the U.S.A. against the West Europeans. The social-imperialists are masters of this double tactic. They are currently intensifying their economic contacts with all other imperialist blocs.

What kind of deals are they making? On the one hand, the social-imperialists permit capital export by the Western imperialist countries to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has received, for example, large long-term loans from Western countries. According to *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 1 March 1972, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation in Moscow accepted a medium-term credit of 20 million dollars from a consortium of nine West European banks in the spring. On Japanese capital export to the Soviet Union *Pravda* of 30 July 1970 writes:

> A Soviet-Japanese economic conference resulted in 1968 in conclusion of a general agreement on credits of Japanese firms valuing 300 million dollars for deliveries of machines, equipment and materials for exploiting the timber resources in the Far East. The Soviet side will repay Japan with timber deliveries.

The Soviet Union also has an agreement with Japan for exploiting Siberian petroleum based on the same principle.

Other revisionist countries go even further, however. Yugoslavia sells foreign capitalists up to 49 percent interests in Yugoslavian enterprises. The profits, which formerly had to be reinvested in Yugoslavia, are now free to be paid out to the foreign capitalists. The Soviet leaders do not reject the penetration of foreign capital either, although they are more reserved. In an interview with West Germany's *Spiegel* (No. 19, 1972), Soviet negotiator Gvishiani (son-in-

law of Kosygin) was asked the question: "Are there fundamental impediments to foreign private property establishing itself inside socialist society?" His answer:

> Basically, no. There is even a trend towards multinational ownership emerging in our country. For example, we are prepared to build and organize joint research institutes. We have in Dubna the Atomic Energy Research Institute, which is the property of the participating countries. This is no end in itself, I think. It is merely a question of finding a good form in which to cooperate.

Indeed, numerous foreign projects in the Soviet Union are nothing but veiled forms of capital export. Gvishiani explains:

> If the agreements are to be such that the profits from the sale of the products are to be distributed to the participating parties, then we can guarantee that within our framework.

The Soviet Union, in turn, is involved in various projects in Western European countries, for example in the construction of a large oil port in Antwerp, built by a Soviet-Belgian corporation (source: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 1 May 1970). This company, called **Nafsa**, imports Soviet petroleum products via Antwerp. The other revisionist countries of Eastern Europe have also established mixed East-West companies with foreign capitalists. Here a few examples taken from *Handelsblatt* of 9 September 1969:

Duta-Robusta, a Hungarian-French stock company, markets tractors.

Swetho, a Hungarian-Swedish stock company, exploits a Swedish license in the building trade.

Intercarbon, a Hungarian-Austrian stock company, does business in fuels.

Cortez Mexico S.A., a Hungarian-Mexican stock company, markets Hungarian machine tools in Latin America.

Technotrans, a Hungarian-French company, sells Hungarian machine tools, electric motors and electric appliances.

Motalex-France, a Polish-French stock company, deals in capital goods.

Sigma-Italiana, a Czechoslovakian-Italian stock company, markets pumps and related products.

Sowpim is a Bulgarian-French trading company which exports and imports machines and machine parts.

Sibimex is a Bulgarian-Italian company with the same task.

Valist Kapushiki Kaishi is a Bulgarian-Japanese company which produces and markets Bulgarian electric trucks in Japan.

The integration process is coming along, as we can see, particularly in Western Europe. The initiative is seized mostly by the banks of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries (finance capital has always been involved in linkups of all kinds). This is confirmed by Ivan Ivanov, Moscow, in an article for *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik,* No. 5, 1972:

> They [the banks of revisionist countries - The Editors] recently have developed activities in Western money markets and established mixed enterprises or subsidiaries in various Western countries to stimulate East-West trade. One of these is the Soviet bank "Wozchod" in Zurich. Seven Western banks and the Polish foreign trade bank formed the joint subsidiary "Zentrofin." The Romanian foreign trade bank and Credit Lyonnais as shareholders have founded a Romanian-French bank.

Wozchod Handelsbank AG, Zurich, showed a 1969 balance-sheet total of 334.5 million Swiss francs and net profit of 1.12 million Swiss francs. In Paris, there is the Soviet "Eurobank" with a 1970 balance-sheet total of 3 billion French francs and capital of 130 million francs. It reported profits of 14.5 million francs. Moscow Narodny Bank Ltd., London, obtained net earnings of 825,000 pounds sterling in 1969. So the capitalist operations in the West are a worthwhile activity for the social-imperialists. For this reason a Soviet bank, the Ost-West-Handelsbank AG (East-West trade bank), was established in Frankfurt with capital stock of DM 20 million and an unlimited banking license.

The social-imperialists work hand in glove with the Western imperialists also to exploit the poor countries. According to *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 3 October 1970, the British Bank of London and South America and the Soviet foreign trade bank jointly granted the

municipal power company of Sao Paulo, Brazil, a loan of 19.5 million dollars for construction of a hydroelectric power plant. The machinery will be supplied by the Soviet Union. Brazil must repay the loan in eight years with coffee.

In *Sowjetunion heute* No. 12-13, 1972, Gvishiani made an overture to the F.R.G.: "Joint activities in markets of third countries would also be conceivable." He also considered this alternative in his interview with *Spiegel.* Gratified, Wolff von Amerongen, a West German expert on trade with the East, said that "thought would have to be given to what extent the Federal Republic of Germany, together with the Soviet Union, can provide reconstruction aid in developing countries" (*Frankfurter Rundschau* of 20 April 1972). So the Soviet and West German imperialists want to coordinate their economic power in certain sectors to capture capital and sales markets in other countries.

The economic cooperation of the social-imperialists with the imperialist countries of the West is a sign of the integration of the Soviet Union in the capitalist world economy. In *Neue Zeit* No. 27, 1972, Soviet economic expert N. Shmelev pleads for a long-term "division of labor" between the CMEA and EEC.

> It is evident that expanded industrial cooperation and sales opportunities on the entire continent would give whole industries and large-scale enterprises in the leading Western European countries far better chances of survival in today's competition.... Socialist and capitalist partners can develop individual sectors and manufactures calculated to meet the requirements of the co-partner over a longer period.

In reply to the question of *Spiegel* whether the U.S.S.R. would "involve itself more deeply in the international division of labor in future," Gvishiani said:

> Yes, that is the basic tendency in the development of our external relations. We are truly prepared for broad division of labor in the international market....
>
> Self-sufficiency is not our position. Autarkic tendencies developed in our country **only because certain countries did not want to collaborate with us.** Autarky was forced on us following the October Revolution. Economy is always world economy. People who do not

understand this today will not understand it tomorrow either. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

What would have become of the Soviet Union if the capitalists had "understood" this "following the October Revolution" and not established a blockade against the Soviet Union? If Lenin, too, had "understood" this, and the Soviet Union had not built up an independent economy, but instead put itself in the leading strings of international division of labor? Would the construction of socialism and victory in the antifascist war have been possible?

In his already quoted contribution in *Neue Zeit* N. Shmelev said:

> The prospects for European security are directly related to whether **material collaboration and partnership**, yes, I would even say **mutual penetration of the vital economic interests** of the different countries, come about on this continent. Such a situation would in fact limit the risk of political and other conflicts to a minimum. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

"Mutual penetration" is an appropriate expression for the general tendency of imperialism to integrate the most diverse sectors of the economies of the capitalist countries. But is this really a contribution to "security" as the revisionists incessantly claim? Lenin took a clear position on this question in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

> Certain bourgeois writers (now joined by Karl Kautsky, who has completely abandoned the Marxist position he had held, for example, in 1909) have expressed the opinion that international cartels, being one of the most striking expressions of the internationalization of capital, give the hope of peace among nations under capitalism. Theoretically, this opinion is absolutely absurd, while in practice it is sophistry and a dishonest defence of the worst opportunism. International cartels show to what point capitalist monopolies have developed, and the *object* of the struggle between the various capitalist associations....
>
> Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German "Marxist," Kautsky, "inter-imperialist" or "ultra-imperialist" alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperi-

> alist powers, are *inevitably* nothing more than a "truce" in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, producing alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on *one and the same* basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and world politics. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 252 and 295)

Precisely today, at a time when the "mutual penetration" of the economies of the imperialists in East and West is advancing in great strides, the U.S. and social-imperialists are intensifying their preparations for war and their policies of interference and aggression, colliding with each other in ever more dangerous forms. At the same time as the West German imperialists ratify treaties with the Soviet Union which "secure peace" in the opinion of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their parrots in the revisionist German Communist Party, West Germany is pushing up its military expenditures, and the social-democratic SPD government is taking numerous measures to increase the "clout" of the Federal Army. Only people who are completely out of touch with reality can believe that the economic and political concessions which the social-imperialists have made to the F.R.G. thus far would satisfy the voracious appetite of the West German monopolies and turn them into angels of peace. The way the CDU/CSU carried on in the ratification debate in the Federal Diet is an indication that the bourgeoisie even now is not satisfied with the concessions made by the social-imperialists and is trying with all its might to get more. History provides enough examples of how, for the imperialists, economic penetration of another country is only the first step in preparing an armed invasion. Aggressive goals are ultimately behind the "mutual penetration" on both sides.

Pravda of 30 July 1970 was cited further back concerning the economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan. After listing a few examples of the interlacing of the economic interests of the two countries the article goes on to say this:

> The ruling Japanese circles ... recognize that friendly, neighborly relations [with the Soviet Union - The Editors] not only serve the interests of both countries but also stabilize the situation in the Far

> East. In the Soviet Union, as well, great significance is attached to the relations with our close neighbor Japan.... One can say that the realistic sections of the Japanese business and political community understand very well that it was precisely a peaceful atmosphere which ensured the upsurge of the Japanese economy after the war, and that maintaining the military alliance with the U.S.A. will further encumber the country's foreign policy. They have long realized that Japan really has a greater interest in peace in this part of the world than its American partner.

Of course, the Soviet revisionists know exactly as we do that it was not a "peaceful atmosphere" but the feverish remilitarization of Japan which brought about the renewed "upsurge" of the Japanese monopoly capitalists after their defeat in World War II. Today, as Japanese arms spending shoots up, as the Japanese imperialists step up their economic aggression in such former colonies of Japan as South Korea, Taiwan and Indonesia, yes, even in Africa and Latin America, as they openly assert that South Korea and Taiwan belong to the "defense belt" of Japan, it is grotesque to speak of peace-loving Japanese ruling circles. This pretended pacifism, of course, covers up something quite different. This becomes clear when the article asserts:

> It is no accident that sober-minded Japanese persistently call for Japan to seek ways to secure peace for itself and **for Asia as a whole**, not through regional military blocs and imperialist expansion in Asia..., but by the creation of a collective security system in Asia. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

This is obviously intended to inflame Japanese aggressiveness against China. On the one hand, the "reasonableness" and "peacefulness" of the Japanese militarists is praised to the heavens; on the other hand, Japan is assigned a peace-keeping mission for "all Asia."

In their relations with the F.R.G., as well, the social-imperialists consciously or unconsciously encourage the aggressiveness of West German imperialism. In a statement of 8 December 1967, the Soviet Union had stipulated the following as conditions for a treaty with the F.R.G. on renunciation of the use of force:

— Recognition of existing frontiers in Europe

— Renunciation of Bonn's claim to sole representation of Germany
— Renunciation of nuclear ambitions
— A stop to designs on West Berlin
— A definitive statement that the 1938 Munich Agreement was null and void from the beginning

Now, for the sake of their dealings with Bonn, the social-imperialists have dropped all these demands. They have accepted without objection the unanimous revanchist resolution of the Federal German Diet of 13 May 1972, which says that the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland "do not create a legal foundation for the current boundaries. The inalienable right of self-determination [by that Brandt and Barzel mean the right to seize the G.D.R. - The Editors] is not affected by the treaties." Actually, since the conclusion of the agreement on West Berlin the social-imperialists have no more reservations about the incorporation of West Berlin in the F.R.G. The West German revanchists have thus won their first battle in the struggle for an imperialist "reunification" of Germany.

The newly awakened aggressivity of West German imperialism will inevitably be directed at the Soviet Union and the social-imperialist dominions one day. Japanese imperialism might also threaten the far East of the Soviet Union. Yet Brezhnev and Company accept this risk since they hope to strengthen their own economic and military power through collaboration with West Germany and Japan and believe that this aggressiveness will not direct itself at other contenders for the time being.

With their "peace" slogans the imperialists in East and West want to lull the peoples so that they do not oppose the imperialist connivery. The proletariat and the oppressed peoples realize, however, that there will be no genuine peace until a stop has been put to the plans of the imperialists. Whether the imperialists provoke a third world war or not depends on whether the oppressed chase the imperialists from the stage of history on time. Should the imperialists nevertheless dare to unleash a new world war, they can be sure that they will only intensify the peoples' outrage, that the peoples will see through imperialism even more clearly and draw the conclusion from history. It is exactly as Mao Zedong says:

> With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent war.

And on another occasion Mao Zedong said:

> The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

We German communists will do all in our power so that the revolution prevents war.

The Contradictions on a Global Scale and Their Intensification

We have concerned ourselves thus far with social-imperialism and its interlinkage with the imperialist world system. The aspect of collaboration between the imperialists was strongly emphasized. But that does not mean that collaboration is the principal aspect. Exactly the opposite is the case. The contradictions between the imperialist powers, the contradictions on a world scale, are generally increasing in intensity. These contradictions will be characterized below.

Leninism teaches that in the era of imperialism there are four fundamental contradictions on a global scale which shape the development of world politics.

The first contradiction is that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries. This contradiction is based on the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. The ever fiercer class struggles in all capitalist countries, and particularly in the imperialist countries, are a sign of the intensification of this contradiction.

The second contradiction is that between imperialism and the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries. This contradiction is based on the exploitation of these peoples by the monopolies. The rapid growth of the national liberation struggle in numerous countries, the growing resistance of many countries against the plundering and tutelage practiced by the imperialist Great Powers are expressions of the intensification of this contradiction.

The third contradiction is that between the different imperialist countries and blocs as well as between the different monopoly- capi-

talist groupings in the individual imperialist countries. This contradiction is based on the uneven development of imperialism, on the striving of the stronger imperialist countries to divest the weaker ones of their economic spheres of influence and to enlarge their profits at the latters' expense. This rivalry is constantly growing and ultimately leads to imperialist wars for the redivision of the world.

The fourth contradiction is finally that between the imperialist countries and the socialist countries. This contradiction is based on the endeavor of the imperialists to recapture their lost markets and exploitation grounds in the socialist countries and to obliterate socialism. This contradiction expresses itself today above all in the hostility of the imperialist powers towards the most populous and economically strongest of the socialist countries, the People's Republic of China.

When investigating the contradictions of a specific country, it is necessary always to work out the principal contradiction. There is always just one principal contradiction, but several secondary contradictions. Let us take, for example, West Germany. There are contradictions between the farmers and the government, between the petty bourgeois and the capitalists, between tenants and landlords, between the petty bourgeoisie and the big trusts, between CDU/CSU and SPD, between labor unions and capitalists' associations, and so on, and so forth. But all these contradictions are secondary contradictions subordinate to the principal contradiction, that between the working class and monopoly capital.

In Indochina, in addition to numerous contradictions such as between poor peasants and plantation owners, between Buddhists and Catholics, between capitalists and workers, which are all secondary contradictions, there is one principal contradiction, and that is the contradiction between the American imperialists and the Indochinese peoples engaged in the struggle for national liberation.

The principal contradiction for every country must be analyzed from the economic and political situation and from among the large number of contradictions. It can change when the situation changes. A different contradiction will then become the principal contradiction. This is why Mao Zedong says:

> But whatever happens, there is no doubt at all that at every stage in the development of a process, there is only one principal contradiction which plays the leading role.
>
> Hence, if in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. (*Selected Works of Leontiev*, Vol. I, p. 332)

One must clearly identify the principal contradiction in order to be able to adapt the strategy and tactics of the struggle to it. According to Mao Zedong, every contradiction has a principal and a secondary aspect, which can change. Let us take the principal contradiction in West Germany, that between the proletariat and the monopoly capitalists. The principal aspect of this contradiction sets its stamp on the particular stage of class struggle. Currently, we are in a stage without an acutely revolutionary situation. The current strategy and tactics of proletarian class struggle must be adapted to this. But if the subjective factor matures, that is, if the masses are seized by revolutionary fighting spirit and are led by a revolutionary party, the class struggle then moves on to the stage of an acutely revolutionary situation. This then becomes the principal aspect of the principal contradiction, and the strategy and tactics of class struggle must adapt to the changed situation. Mao Zedong thus emphasizes:

> It can thus be seen that the nature of a thing is mainly determined by the principal aspect of the contradiction, the aspect which has gained predominance. When the principal aspect which has gained predominance changes, the nature of a thing changes accordingly. (*ibid.*, p. 333)

At the beginning we examined the rules which the imperialist politics of exploitation and expansion pursued by the social-imperialist leaders follow. However, up to now we have considered these politics only from one side. We initially left aside the point that this imperialism is faced with serious obstacles. We now concern ourselves with social-imperialism in the context of worldwide contradictions.

Social-imperialism is an important member of world imperialism. It stands, **first**, in contradiction to the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

(We showed how the Soviet proletariat is exploited in Part II of this study.)

It stands, **second**, in contradiction to the oppressed peoples of the CMEA countries and other countries exploited or infiltrated by social-imperialism.

It stands, **third**, in contradiction to U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist countries or blocs, with which it contends for redivision of the world.

It stands, **fourth**, in contradiction to the socialist countries, especially China, since they fight with the greatest resolve not to be transformed into colonies of social-imperialism. This contradiction is developing into the principal contradiction more and more.

As far as Brezhnev and Company are concerned, the whole world must throw itself at their feet. But they are living in a period of imperialism in which the division of the world among the imperialist powers is complete, in which there are no more unopened territories, and in which they can expand only by redividing the world at the expense of the other imperialists. They are living in the era of proletarian and national revolutions, where a number of countries have already left the capitalist world system and are building up socialism. The present conditions under which the social-imperialists are attempting to set up a world empire are far less favorable than those under which the British or American imperialists achieved their rise. There can hardly be a doubt that their dream of world dominance will never come true, especially because the revolutionary world movement has its center in Mao Zedong's China.

Now what are the relations between social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers? First of all, all imperialists have the following in common: they are in contradiction to the proletariat, to the oppressed peoples, to socialism. They are confronted by the storm of world revolution. When it is necessary to oppress the peoples, they usually put aside their quarrels in favor of their common imperialist interests.

But it would be a serious error to think that there are no contradictions between the imperialists, and, specifically, between social-imperialism and the other imperialists, or that these contradictions are

unimportant. Today, four large imperialist blocs have emerged: the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, the EEC and Japan. The contention among them for markets and spheres of influence assumes ever sharper forms. The other imperialist blocs take full advantage of the weakening of U.S. imperialism. Japanese capital flows to Latin America, the U.S.A.'s "backyard." The EEC countries coordinate their trade policies towards the U.S.A. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union step up their arms race. We could continue on and on. The disagreement among the imperialists, their struggle against each other, is of extraordinary importance to the proletariat, to the oppressed peoples. As Stalin wrote in *The Foundations of Leninism*:

> This circumstance, in its turn, is notable in that it leads to the mutual weakening of the imperialists, to the weakening of the position of capitalism in general, to the acceleration of the advent of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity of this revolution. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 75)

The Collaboration of the Two Imperialist Superpowers against the Oppressed Peoples

The liberation movement of the oppressed peoples is currently the greatest threat to world domination by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Not seldom, the social-imperialists demagogically boast of their "support" for liberation movements directed against U.S. imperialism. In fact, they do partly give these liberation movements a certain material support in order to weaken the positions of U.S. imperialism and strengthen their own position for dividing up the world. But, basically, they have a great fear of the struggling peoples, for Brezhnev and his friends know that a people which has obtained its freedom with weapons is not likely to bow to social-imperialism that easily. The liberation movements threaten not just U.S. imperialism, but the entire system of world imperialism.

It was Khrushchov who first expressed these fears in the classic formula. On the pretext that "local wars" and, one must assume, wars of liberation of oppressed peoples, in particular, were extraordinarily dangerous and could trigger a world war at any time — since

"even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration," as he formulated in his speech to the Supreme Soviet in October of 1959 — he promised that he would "work hard ... to put out the sparks that may set off the flames of war" (speech in Washington on September 16, 1959).

To make this dubious contribution to "world peace," close cooperation between U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism is necessary. In an interview published in *Pravda* of September 10, 1961, Khrushchov said that the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are

> the strongest countries in the world, and if we unite for peace there can be no war. Then if any madman wanted war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off.

Or, as Gromyko expressed himself to the Supreme Soviet on December 13, 1962:

> If there is agreement between N. Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet Government, and John Kennedy, the President of the United States, there will be a solution of international problems on which mankind's destinies depend.

This means that the peoples should stop struggling and leave their fate up to the superpowers. The solution of the problems of the world's people is thus supposed to be the exclusive monopoly of the two superpowers. The peoples concerned should keep silence and do as they are told.

Khrushchov already demonstrated in practical terms that he was willing to "put out the sparks" of people's war together with the U.S.A.; for example, when the Soviet U.N. delegation voted together with the U.S.A. to send U.N. troops to the Congo — those U.N. troops which drowned the Lumumba-led anti-imperialist struggle of the Congolese people in blood.

But the most notorious example to date in the series of plots against the peoples by U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism is their conspiracy against the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples.

The imperialist Great Powers fear national revolution in the Ara-

bian region and try to choke it off. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union hatched that notorious U.N. Security Council resolution on November 22, 1967, which allegedly serves the "establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." To this day, the social-imperialists have not ceased parading this resolution at every conceivable opportunity as a genuine contribution to peace. What does it provide for? It provides for withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied in 1967 but, on the other hand, legalizes the occupation of the parts of Palestine held by Israel since 1948. Literally, the resolution demands:

> Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence **of every State in the area** and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

The Arab nations are expected to accept the occupation by Israel of the greatest part of Palestine and stop supporting the Palestinian revolution. The continuation of the Security Council resolution was the "Rogers Plan," contained in a letter of the U.S. Secretary of State to the Egyptian government in July, 1970. It provides for a cease-fire in the Middle East and the assumption of indirect talks between the Arab states and Israel to implement the Security Council resolution. Egypt and Jordan accepted the Rogers Plan. All Palestinian organizations and several Arab countries rejected the plan and the resolution. In a statement of 25 July 1970, the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization said:

> Putting the Security Council resolution into effect in order to obtain recognition of Israel through negotiations means that the Arab side drops its guarantee not to negotiate with Israel. This means giving up once and for all the right of the Arab people of Palestine to live in their Palestinian homeland....
>
> As far as a cease-fire is concerned, it means a ban on the activities of our commando brigades, which would lead to conflict with the Palestinian resistance movement. It is obvious that the U.S. plan is essentially very malicious since it attempts to undermine Arab solidarity and to split the Arab front internally. What is more it seeks to suppress and eliminate the Arab liberation movement and especially

the Palestinian resistance movement. The Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization speaks on behalf of the Palestinian people, gives expression to the goal of their struggle, and proclaims that the Palestinian people reject the Security Council resolution and all forms and concepts designed to implement this resolution, including the Rogers Plan. The Central Committee declares further that no Arab or foreign party has the right to negate the existence of the Palestinian people, to cede their homeland to the Zionists and imperialists for the complete and final destruction of the Palestinian people and their homeland. The Palestinian people, which will liberate the homeland by force, return there and exercise their right to self-determination, will never lay down their weapons. They will continue the armed struggle and never cease fire until they have achieved complete liberation. (Our Translation from the German - The Editors)

And what position did the social-imperialists, co-initiators of the Security Council resolution, take? On August 1, 1970, they wrote in *Pravda*:

In conjunction with such a reaction of various Arab countries to the U.A.R. initiative regarding a political solution of the Middle East crisis, the position taken by the leading Baath Party of Irak is cause for astonishment.... Completely unexpectedly, Baghdad began to say things like "attempts are being made to liquidate the Palestine question once and for all."

With the typical revisionist smokescreen method, *Pravda* tries to raise the impression that the Rogers Plan was not originated by the U.S.A. but by Egypt. This is manifest in the entirely nonsensical formulation: "the reactions of the U.A.R. ... to the U.A.R. initiative." They further attempt to create the impression that Irak, with whom the social-imperialists had a falling-out at that time, was the only Arab country which rejected the plan. Not a word is said about the Palestinians. Nevertheless, it is quite clear what they intend to say. Three days later the central organ of the Palestine Liberation Organization, *Fateh*, replied:

Pravda takes the liberty arbitrarily to criticize those who have rejected the Rogers Plan, accusing them of taking a negative position.... The Palestinian cause is our very own cause. No one has the right to

interfere except ourselves. Whoever wishes to adopt an internationalist standpoint should either support us or keep their mouths shut. Otherwise they must reckon with a reply if they knock at the door.

The same newspaper very correctly pointed out on July 29, 1970:

> It is strange that the Security Council and the four powers have never made unanimous decisions on anything but the issue of the Palestinian people. Why? Is the cause of our country such a threat to all of them, or do they all have an interest in liquidating the Palestinian cause?
>
> Perhaps these Great Powers want to play the role of trustees who can re-distribute spheres of influence everywhere in the world, as they please, only differing on who this or that piece of land should belong to, while amongst themselves they adhere to a 'gentlemen's agreement' in order to intimidate small nations with their material and technical superiority. Perhaps the struggle for complete liberation from foreign influence of any kind has angered the Great Powers and caused them to show their muscles, in order to intimidate the peoples of our countries and public opinion, so that we bow down to them and our peoples give over to them the highest national interests. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

The events of the following weeks proved the correctness of the Palestinian assessment of the Rogers Plan and exposed the peace talk of the superpowers as a pose. In September, 1970, U.S. imperialism prompted its puppet, the King of Jordan, to massacre the Palestinian guerillas and the civilian population in the refugee camps.

The elimination of the Palestinian resistance was the necessary prerequisite to implementing the Security Council resolution. The social-imperialists did not say one word of protest against the mass murder of Palestinians. Typical of their attitude was the statement in *Izvestiya* of 19 September 1970:

> Reports from Jordan indicate that the internal situation there is constantly becoming more aggravated and complicated.... The bloodshed in Jordan accords with the interests of the sponsors of Israeli aggression in the U.S.A. It is clear that neither of the two sides stands to gain from a continuation of the fratricide in Jordan — neither the representatives of the Jordanian state, nor the Palestinian organiza-

> tions, nor any Arab country. If the internal unrest in Jordan drags on, it will damage the interests of the entire national liberation struggle in East Arabia.

In no statement in the Soviet press were the Jordanian reactionaries or the U.S. imperialists termed responsible for the fighting. In no statement was a connection drawn between the "peaceful solution" devised by the superpowers and the brutal suppression of the Palestinians. No newspaper reported about the truly heroic resistance of the Palestinians in the towns, villages and refugee camps of Jordan. One always reads only about a "tense situation" and a "tragic struggle between brothers." In his speech on the 50th anniversary of the Azerbaijan S.S.R. on October 2, 1970, Brezhnev said:

> Unfortunately, the bloody conflict between government troops and armed units of the Palestinian organizations which broke out in Jordan recently has caused no small harm to the common cause of the Arabian peoples, including the Palestinian Arabs. This fratricidal war is truly tragic.... We are deeply convinced that in the Middle East today the main task of all freedom and peace-loving forces is to achieve a peaceful solution by political means, to eradicate the consequences of Israeli aggression, and once again to give all peoples of this region peace and quiet on a firm and durable basis. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

In other words, now that the Palestinian cause has been weakened it is the best time to horse-trade at the peoples' expense. Pravda of 29 September even stooped so low as to speak about the "peace-loving positions of the U.A.R. and Jordan." When Syria and Irak sent troops to Jordan to support the Palestinians, the social-imperialists persuaded them to pull them back again. It is not exaggerating to assert that the social-imperialists bear a substantial part of the blame for the death of thousands of the best young men of Palestine, for the serious setback which the liberation struggle of the Arabs suffered in 1970.

Since the expulsion of the Soviet military advisors from Egypt on July 18, 1972, the Egyptian President Sadat and the Egyptian press have repeatedly pointed out how the social-imperialists abused the confidence of the Egyptian leaders and refused to supply the offensive weapons promised to Egypt. It is now clear that the promise to

force Israel to return Egyptian territory was only a lure used by the two superpowers to foist the Rogers Plan on Egypt, split the Arab front against Israel and eliminate the Palestinians, and to bind Egypt to the Soviet Union economically and politically under the pretense of "military aid." For years the Soviet leaders tried to fob off Egypt with "diplomatic efforts" towards a "peaceful solution." A situation of "neither war nor peace" has developed there which has seriously undermined the morale of Egypt's army and people.

The counterrevolutionary collaboration of the two superpowers is particularly plain to see in the Middle East issue. But the same basic trend can also be demonstrated in the relations of the social-imperialists to all other liberation movements.

Naturally, they do not dare to take such open position against the struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom, since even social democrats in certain countries like Sweden declare their "solidarity" with Vietnam. Yet this does not keep the social-imperialists from attacking the Vietnamese revolution by proposing bad compromises. Here, too, they make loud propaganda for a "peaceful solution." They will not desist from advising the Vietnamese that "negotiating without attempting to blackmail, or dictate to, the other party is the only way to resolve the Indochina issue," as it was put in a TASS statement of April 16, 1972. The social-imperialists claim, therefore, that the peoples of Indochina cannot gain their independence by armed struggle, but must wait until the U.S. imperialists are generous enough to negotiate seriously. The Vietnamese people is prepared to negotiate over a peaceful solution to the Vietnam question, but that is not the "only way." If the U.S. imperialists do not admit defeat and pull out of Vietnam of their free will, then the Vietnamese patriots are prepared to continue their people's war until the enemy is totally defeated. But it was no coincidence that TASS issued its statement at the same time as the South Vietnamese liberation front began its great new offensive. The social-imperialists' thoughts on this offensive were revealed by the well-known Soviet journalist Victor Louis in an article (intended only for foreign audiences) which he published in the *London Evening Post* of June 16, 1972. Here we read:

> The visit of President Podgorny to Hanoi has the purpose of putting an end to the hostilities on all fronts in Indochina so that the negotiations can progress. Observers in Moscow believe that if the North and South Vietnamese stay at their present positions, a period of detente can ensue which could enable holding a popular referendum or new elections in South Vietnam.... The standpoint of the Chinese, however, still appears unclear, as does that of the North Vietnamese leaders, who are pro-Chinese. Now that their attempt has failed to foil the American-Soviet meeting [He means Nixon's visit to Moscow - The Editors.] by launching a new offensive in the South, the North Vietnamese, as it is seen in Moscow, will try to neutralize President Podgorny's visit. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

In its Seven-Point Peace Proposal, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam made unmistakably clear that there could only be a cease-fire in South Vietnam when "all parties agree on the withdrawal from South Vietnam of all forces of the United States and other foreign states in the American camp." The same goes for elections. Podgorny nevertheless tried to persuade the Vietnamese to drop this just standpoint and get them to give up their struggle prior to the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors.

The counterrevolutionary role of the social-imperialists in the Indochina question comes out above all in their attitude to Cambodia. Since the historic summit of the three peoples of Indochina in May, 1970, the peoples and the liberation armies of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos form an indestructible united front and precisely coordinate their political and military plans. The Royal Cambodian Government of National Union, formed by chief of state Samdech Norodom Sihanouk following the C.I.A.-engineered coup, controls 85 percent of the territory with more than five sevenths of the population of Cambodia. Most of the ministers of this government are in the liberated areas of Cambodia. No one can speak of a "government in exile." Numerous countries, among them China, Albania, Korea, Romania, Cuba and, of course, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, have recognized Sihanouk's government as the only legitimate government.

It is a known fact that the Soviet leaders broke off diplomatic relations with Sihanouk following the coup in March of 1970 and recognized the clique of putschists in Phnom Penh as "government of Cambodia." To this day, they provide no political support whatsoever to the legitimate government of Cambodia. This not only strikes a blow at the struggling people of Cambodia, but also against the people of Vietnam and Laos. At the same time it is an unveiled act of sabotage against the united front of the three peoples of Indochina. On the other hand, it must be considered a moral uplift to the putschist clique, which is unanimously rejected by the Cambodian people. In the meantime, the social-imperialists even try to arrange a "political solution" with the Lon Nol clique over the heads of the Cambodian people and its rightful government. As the well-known Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett reports in *Le Monde diplomatique* No. 4, 1972, the Soviet leaders and the Lon Nol clique endeavor to split the National United Front and to put together a "third force," yes, even an ostensibly communist party. This plan is condemned by the Cambodian communists, who naturally struggle in the forefront of the National United Front. Chief of state Sihanouk said to Burchett:

> Lon Nol is overjoyed to have the Russians on his side. A third force, a "communist party," is designed to lend credibility to his slogans of "democracy" and "neutrality".... The true communists of Cambodia belong to the bravest fighters in our National United Front. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

Why there can be no "third force" in Cambodia was explained by Ieng Sary, one of the leaders of the "inner section," the part of the National United Front (NUFC) struggling inside Cambodia, in an interview with *Le Monde* on January 15, 1972:

> The peculiar feature of our war in the current stage is the firm unity of all patriotic forces of the nation within the NUFC. Never has a national united front joined such broad forces, beginning with a former king, the legitimate chief of state, who is inspired by great patriotism and a resolute desire for victory, and ending with the poorest peasant; and in between there are the members of the royal

family, the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the workers, the intellectuals, the Buddhist monks, and so on. This front and its government represent the legality, legitimacy and continuity of the state. The unity of the internal and external parts of NUFC is a firm one.... The broad unity created within NUFC explains why there can be no third force of any kind between us on the one side and the traitors and their masters, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, on the other side. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

Ieng Sary also expressed his regret that "certain countries which are not allied with the U.S.A." had still not recognized the rightful government, and said further:

We hope that these governments will not fail to provide us support as soon as they are convinced of our inevitable victory and of our categorical refusal to permit any compromise with the clique of traitors. Any desire and any attempt to force a compromise solution of any kind on the Cambodian people is not only an illusion. It can only encourage the imperialists and their lackeys.

Owing to the unity within the NUFC, the unity between the freedom fighters and the people, the unity between Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos, and the support from China, Korea and all progressive forces in the world, the Cambodian people will win victory in the near future. Why do the Soviet leaders oppose this current? Why do they attempt to undermine the victorious fighting unity of the three peoples of Indochina? Solely because, for all practical purposes, they want to prevent the victory of popular revolution in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Samdech Sihanouk was certainly not mistaken when he said in an interview with *Far Eastern Economic Review* on December 25, 1971:

It would be difficult for the Soviet Union to refuse support to North Vietnam, a socialist country. But I've seen what they give North Vietnam: airplanes, rockets, radar equipment — none of this material is up-to-date. The Russians have not given Hanoi a quarter of what they have given to Egypt. Why? Because the Russians do not want Hanoi to win. They give what is absolutely necessary so that the Vietnamese do not lose the war, but not enough for them to win it, although it would be possible for them to do so. I think the Russians

> don't want the Asian peoples to become too strong. I fear that Americans and Russians suffer from the same kind of racism. They have the same complex about the "yellow peril" which they see in China. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

Next to Indochina and Palestine, a third focal point of armed struggle against imperialism lies in Africa. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are waging people's wars there against Portuguese colonialism, which is supported by the U.S.A. and the F.R.G. There, too, the social-imperialists trumpet their alleged support for the peoples. But they do not even go so far with their "support" as to put an end to their economic relations with the Portuguese colonialists. What is more, they do not even shrink from weapons transactions with them. The *Portugal-Report* published by the Portuguese embassy in Bonn wrote in its June, 1971, edition:

> On the basis of a trade pact recently concluded between Czechoslovakia and Portugal, Czech trucks are being delivered to Mozambique for transporting heavy loads at the construction site [of the Cabora Bassa dam - The Editors]. These are Tatra cross-country trucks, **specially designed for military purposes** and used by all Eastern Bloc countries. It goes without saying that the civilian version will be used in Mozambique. (Emphasis added by us - The Editors)

It goes without saying! Even if "civilian version" were correct, it would be bad enough. The progressive forces in the F.R.G. have long been campaigning against the participation of West German firms in the Cabora Bassa project, whose purpose is to consolidate colonial rule in Mozambique.

The representative of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) for North Europe and Scandinavia, Antonio Alberto Neto, described at a public discussion in Tübingen, Germany, on February 7, 1972, how Polish foreign ministry officials admitted to him on his visit to Poland that Poland had sold four well-equipped transport ships to Portugal for use in Angola and Mozambique. These vessels, which carry weapons and military personnel, were ordered in 1968 and 1969 and delivered in 1970 and 1971. The Soviet Union has also supplied ships to Portugal which were produced in

Odessa in 1971. Alberto Neto said further that the Soviet Union maintained economic contacts to Rhodesia despite the U.N. boycott provisions. Czechoslovakia, too, delivered weapons to Portugal up to 1961. Neto emphasized that the peoples in the Portuguese colonies were against all contacts with Portugal since they allow Portugal to break through its isolation.

We could mention the example of Indonesia, where the social-imperialists do not even pretend to support the armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Indonesia. There is no mention of this struggle in Soviet propaganda. Instead, they open the columns of their publications to a handful of renegades from the CP of Indonesia, who sit somewhere in Eastern Europe and busy themselves with defaming the CP of Indonesia and its Marxist-Leninist line. What is even more, the social-imperialists deliver weapons and aircraft to the fascist military regime of Indonesia, which uses them against the communist-led liberation struggle. It has also become known that Soviet officers function as trainers and advisors to the fascist armed forces of Indonesia.

There would be numerous other examples to cite. But those mentioned should suffice to trace the main line of social-imperialist policy towards the oppressed peoples. The social-imperialists are absolute enemies of the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. Wherever they "support" a liberation movement or offer their "support," they try to blackmail this liberation movement, to lead it astray, to hold it back from armed struggle, and to fob it off with foul-smelling compromises. Not infrequently, their intention is to misuse a liberation movement as a pawn in their political intrigues. But as soon as they have no more use for it as a means of applying pressure to their imperialist competitors, and this movement even threatens to foil the imperialist plans, the social-imperialists stab it in the back.

With every passing day, the peoples of the oppressed countries see more and more clearly who their true friends are, and who their false friends. They are neither taken in by the deceptive maneuvers of the social-imperialists, nor do they let themselves be deterred by their extortion.

The Struggle of the Social-Imperialists against Socialist China

The People's Republic of China is today the most dependable mainstay of the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The great successes of the Chinese people in socialist construction, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in preventing the restoration of capitalism arouse the enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in all parts of the world and evidence the superiority of socialist society. The Chinese people make great sacrifices to support the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples with all the economic and political means available to them.

China's growing importance in the communist world movement and its increasing influence on the national liberation struggles worry and frighten all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. The imperialists launch hate and smear campaigns to isolate China, and threaten it with war. At first it was mainly U.S. imperialism which threatened China, from the island of Taiwan and in the Korean War. Then the social-imperialists joined the front against China. They have formed a counterrevolutionary, anti-Chinese and anticommunist Holy Alliance against China together with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries like the Indian government.

The Chinese communists and their chairman, Mao Zedong, quickly saw through the anti-Leninist theses of the XXth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and opposed them right from the outset. Proceeding from a desire for unity they long refrained from criticizing Khrushchov's revisionism publicly. But in numerous discussions with the Soviet leaders they made clear that they did not agree with the condemnation of Stalin, the thesis of "peaceful transition" and other theses of Khrushchov. Finally, in numerous articles they publicly defended the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

This principled attitude of the Chinese communists enraged Khrushchov and consorts. At the end of the fifties they began publicly maligning the policies of China. As early as 1958, for example, Khrushchov and other revisionists openly attacked Chinese agricultural policy. In 1960, the Soviet revisionists unilaterally voided the Sino-Soviet economic agreements and unexpectedly withdrew all Soviet technicians and advisors from China. This was an attempt to

sabotage the Chinese economy. In that same year they staged the first provocations along the Sino-Soviet border. At the beginning of the sixties, the Soviet leaders openly supported the expansionist policies of India towards China when the reactionary government of India sparked a war.

The public polemics which the Chinese communists conducted against the Soviet revisionists since mid-1963 were an absolutely necessary and extraordinarily important support to the Marxist-Leninists in all countries. The programmatic articles of the Communist Party of China proved that the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism are not by any means outdated, that communism is alive and advancing in spite of the treachery of Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Company. This polemic led to a new upsurge of the international communist movement, which had been severely damaged by the discord sown by Khrushchov.

By contrast, the lies with which the Soviet leaders crusade against China are a declaration of bankruptcy by revisionism. The same revisionist hacks who never tire of expounding on the "realistic" and "sensible" circles in the imperialist countries lose their countenance when China is the subject. No trick is beneath them. They claim , for example: China is against peaceful coexistence; China wants to foment a war against the capitalist countries and export revolution; China is working for world war; China raises territorial claims against the Soviet Union, and so on.

We will not concern ourselves with the horror stories about life in China which the Soviet press repeats after the information ministry of the Chiang Kai-shek clique or picks from the columns of Hongkong's yellow press: countless famines, rebellions, public executions, burning of books, mass relocation of national minorities, suicide waves among intellectuals, personal intrigues of Party leaders, and so on. (These are all examples of reports which have actually been published in recent years in the Soviet press.)

But the social-imperialists do not limit themselves to anticommunist press campaigns. Just like the U.S. imperialists, they fan hysteria to prepare war against China.

It is a fact that the social-imperialists are amassing troops and

concentrating missile launch sites along the Soviet-Chinese frontier and the frontier between China and the Mongolian People's Republic. Western intelligence services, able to observe precisely Soviet troop movements with their spy satellites, have announced that the social-imperialists already have more troops stationed in Asia than in Europe. This is, of course, a fruit of the "peace policy" of the social-imperialists in Europe. They want to cover their backs in Europe with a "collective security system" to have their hands free for a war against China, exactly in the way the U.S. imperialists speak out in favor of "detente" in Europe in order to disengage military forces there and use them for their wars in Asia.

These facts clearly show that the social-imperialists do not direct their military might chiefly at U.S. imperialism, West German revanchism and the aggressive NATO alliance, as they always claim, but primarily at socialist China. The Soviet military bases in the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, together with the U.S. bases in South Korea, Japan, the Chinese province Taiwan and the Philippines, plus the U.S. armies of aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand, and the troops of the Indian expansionists, form a hostile ring around China and the other socialist countries of Asia.

The social-imperialists try to cut off China from the outside world by every means. If other countries have no economic or political contacts to China, they will sooner be willing to take part in military action against China, or to tolerate such action. In connection with the issue of the Soviet-Japanese boundary, *Japan Times*, a newspaper close to the Japanese government, wrote on May 19, 1972:

> The Soviet Union conducts a diplomacy of smiles towards Japan to prevent rapprochement between Japan and China.... The U.S.S.R. has proposed that Japan and the Soviet Union begin negotiations on a peace treaty in the course of the year. Of course, the differences on territorial issues must be settled before a peace treaty can be concluded between the two countries. The Soviet Union now says: "Our attitude towards the territorial questions depends on Japan's attitude towards China." At the same time they intimate that it would be better for Japan to wait five more years before resuming diplomatic relations with China since internal changes would take place in that

country. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

The last sentence can only be understood to mean that the social-imperialists hope to be able to bring a revisionist clique to power in China through armed intervention or through the intrigues of their agents inside China. But the Japanese imperialists did not bank upon the wishful thinking of the social-imperialists and, instead, took up diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China without hesitation.

It is similar with the U.S.A. Just a few years ago the social-imperialists demagogically demanded that the U.S.A. withdraw its troops from Taiwan and recognize China. However, now that the international and internal situation, which is extremely difficult for the U.S. imperialists, has forced them to make at least a semblance of some concessions to China, to at all acknowledge the existence of People's China officially, the revisionists suddenly are no longer in favor of these demands. The malicious gossip of the social-imperialists and their parrots, especially the DKP, on the occasion of Nixon's visit to China are still in fresh remembrance. All this hatemongering proves that the Soviet social-imperialists have no interest in a reduction of tensions in Asia, but, on the contrary, want to stir up tensions to threaten China even more and be able to intensify their anti-Chinese collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

We already spoke about the military collaboration between the Soviet Union and India, an expression of which is the mutual assistance pact mentioned. This pact was signed shortly before the Indian attack on Pakistan in 1971. It is based, on the one hand, on economic interests of social-imperialism, but at the same time it is apparently also a military alliance against China. As is well known, the Indian reactionaries make completely unjustified territorial claims on China. They attacked China in 1959 and 1962, but badly burned their fingers. Since then, India has stood by its hostile attitude and frustrated all efforts by the Chinese government to solve the boundary question peacefully. Prior to their first foray into China, the Indian government had incited a handful of reactionary lamas in Tibet to prevent the abolition of the feudal system in Tibet by staging a rebellion.

The events on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent are a good example of how the imperialists' preparations for war against the socialist countries are inseparably connected with their struggle to redivide the world.

On the pretense of establishing a "collective security system" in Asia, Brezhnev is trying to unite all anti-Chinese and anticommunist forces of Asia in an alliance hostile to China. But he is having little success. He does not even shrink from contacts with probably the worst enemy of the Chinese people, the Chiang Kai-shek clique. As reported by *Far Eastern Economic Review* no. 12, 1971, the Soviet agent and journalist Victor Louis came to Taiwan in 1968 for secret talks with the son and designated successor of Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, and other leaders of the Chiang gang. Since then there have been several exploratory talks between representatives of social-imperialism and the Chiang clique.

But the social-imperialists do not restrict themselves to making war preparations and cobbling together war alliances. They have long since gone over to open military provocation. The most serious armed clashes thus far took place in 1969 on the northeastern frontier of China. On March 2, 1969, Soviet troops encroached on the Chinese island of Chenpao in the Ussuri river and murdered many Chinese border guards. In the following weeks and months they stepped up their provocations.

The social-imperialist aggressors resorted to all kinds of slanders to cover up the fact that they were the attackers and to lay the blame on China.

Of course, the whole world knows that the People's Republic of China has never invaded a single foreign country since it was founded and has never taken an inch of foreign soil. Chinese troops are stationed in no country of the world except China itself. China has settled boundary issues by peaceable means with all its neighbors except the Soviet Union and India. China aspires to a policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries of the world and takes greatest pains to respect the sovereignty of all countries. All the revisionist screeching about the "bellicose" and "chauvinistic" policies of China cannot alter these indisputable facts.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has been occupying a whole number of countries for years and has established base after base in all parts of the world. Just a few months before the beginning of the fighting on the Ussuri and Heilung rivers, Soviet occupation forces marched into Czechoslovakia before the eyes of the world. There is hardly a country on which the social-imperialists have not brought pressure to bear, and in whose internal affairs they have not interfered.

We cannot go into detail here on the history of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. The gist of the matter is that, although the present Sino-Soviet border is the product of czarist aggression and is based on unequal treaties forced on semicolonial China by czarism, the Chinese government is prepared to accept these treaties as the basis for drawing the final boundary, and does not demand the return of the territories robbed by czarism. The Soviet government, however, endeavors to take even more of China than the czars. They treacherously seek to question China's boundaries and thus create for themselves a historic "justification" for future aggression against China.

The socialist countries are not dependent on war. China threatens no one and will never attack any country first. China needs peace to further its socialist construction, for that is the most valuable contribution the Chinese people can make to world revolution at the present.

The imperialists, on the other hand, need war. This is a law of imperialism. They must constantly expand their economic and political spheres of influence to obtain maximum profits. They need militarism and chauvinism to keep down the working class in their own countries. And, in the long-term, the imperialist wolves are preparing for the destruction of socialism.

The principal contradiction in the world today is that between social-imperialism and socialist China. (*Refers to 1972, when the book was published. — The Editors.*) The social-imperialists' preparations for war along China's borders are increasingly gaining in intensity and scope. But that does not mean that the contradictions with other imperialist countries in Europe and the U.S.A. are not also intensify-

ing. It holds for the social-imperialist Soviet Union of today what Mao Zedong said in 1946, in his "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," about U.S. imperialism's politics of aggression towards the then still socialist Soviet Union:

> There are two aspects to the propaganda about an anti-Soviet war. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is indeed preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current propaganda about an anti-Soviet war, as well as other anti-Soviet propaganda, is political preparation for such a war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smoke screen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover many actual contradictions immediately confronting U.S. imperialism. These are the contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and the contradictions of U.S. imperialism with other capitalist countries and with the colonial and semicolonial countries. At present, the actual significance of the U.S. slogan of waging an anti-Soviet war is the oppression of the American people and the expansion of the U.S. forces of aggression in the rest of the capitalist world. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 and 98)

These words also appropriately describe the present world situation and clearly bring out the dual character of the anti-Chinese policies of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism. On the one hand, they actually prepare for war against China. On the other hand, they use their anticommunist activities to oppress their own people and the peoples of the world.

The struggle against the anti-Chinese intrigues of the superpowers is therefore inseparably interlinked with the struggle of the American people, the Soviet people, and the peoples of the entire world against the reign of imperialism. The revolutionary masses of the Soviet Union, who uphold the memory of Lenin and Stalin, will surely not look on idly while Brezhnev and Company set about to launch war against China. The plans of the imperialists will be defeated not only by the resistance of the Chinese people, but by the struggle of all peoples.

4. The Ideological Integration of Social-Imperialism in the Imperialist World System

The Convergence Theory: the Bourgeois Ideological Haze to Cover Up the Restoration of Capitalism

The failure of the counterrevolutionary putsch in Hungary in 1956 showed the imperialists that socialism could not be eliminated in this manner. But, what the imperialists could not foresee, 1956 was the starting point for restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union from within. This restoration of a capitalism of a new type took place in two stages. First, the superstructure of socialist society had to be changed (revision of Marxism-Leninism and abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat). Then, the changing of the economic base, the transformation of the socialist economy into a capitalist economy, began.

The sensational developments in the Soviet Union induced imperialism to change its political strategy and tactics towards the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. The politics of the "Cold War" were supplanted by a policy of "detente." Bourgeois ideologists invented new theories to take these developments into account.

Consequently, it was no coincidence that one such new theory, the convergence theory, emerged around 1960, when the neocapitalist trend in the Soviet Union became more and more apparent to bourgeois ideologists. We do not want to deal with the different views of the convergence theorists here. Basically, they all come to the same thing.

Convergence means a coming closer together. Convergence of the capitalist and socialist societies means a coming closer together of the two systems and, ultimately, their merger into a third, new system, just as mixing red and white produces pink.

The convergence theory elaborates the following idea: it is necessary to proceed from the new industrial revolution (automation, electronic control systems and more), which brings about far-reaching changes in all developed capitalist and socialist industrial countries and, accordingly, gradually abolishes the distinctions between the

two systems and lets them run together into one common industrial society. Technocrats command the production apparatus. Their management of the entire production process excludes the proprietors from all production. In this way, the capitalists in the capitalist mode of production and society in socialism become unnecessary as owners of capital. Both systems lose their specific characteristics and meet on a common middle line, with the positive aspects of both systems being taken over and uniting into a "third system." These are the basic features of the convergence theory in brief. Two main trends can be distinguished by and large: a petty-bourgeois and an imperialist variant of the convergence theory.

The petty-bourgeois variant of the convergence theory springs from the desire of the petty bourgeois to secure his existence. Existential fear of state monopoly capitalism on the one hand and simultaneous rejection of the socialist system on the other hand places the petty bourgeois in a dilemma. Marx wrote to Annenkov in 1846:

> In an advanced society the *petty bourgeois* necessarily becomes from his very position a Socialist on the one side and an economist on the other; that is to say, he is dazed by the magnificence of the big bourgeoisie and has sympathy for the sufferings of the people. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 527)

All criticism of state monopoly capitalism notwithstanding, the petty bourgeois wants to preserve bourgeois society. Without recognizing socialist society, he would like to claim for himself certain qualities of socialism which appeal to him. His ideas about socialism issue from his contradictory position:

> This [petty-bourgeois - The Editors] school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dis-

> solution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.
>
> In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 130)

The petty bourgeois believes he has found a solution in the convergence theory. According to this the capitalist and socialist systems draw closer together until they merge with each other in a uniform industrial society, which adopts a number of achievements of socialism acceptable to the petty bourgeois and reforms certain features of monopoly capitalism.

The imperialist variant of the convergence theory starts from the imperialist policy of liquidation of socialism. Primitive anticommunism used to be the hallmark of this policy: the communists — pictured as inhuman, bloodthirsty monsters — ought to be exterminated; socialism would go down and the economy would be ruined because it is managed by incapable people; people were oppressed in socialism and had to be freed. This primitive anticommunism was made untenable by the grandiose progress of socialism. It conflicted with the reality of the successes of socialism.

Since the existence of Soviet power, imperialism has been unflagging in its endeavor to undermine socialism from within and corrupt socialist society by spreading bourgeois ideology. This ideological offensive had little influence on the workers and peasants, however. But it surely contributed to hasten the transformation of the bureaucracy into the new ruling class, into the bourgeoisie of a new type. The imperialist convergence theory is one of several means of influencing the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe and of integrating the new capitalist system in the imperialist system. This imperialist policy requires more thorough investigation of what goes on in the revisionist countries and a search for appropriate ideological, politi-

cal and economic means of systematically influencing them in the desired direction.

The imperialists know that this is a protracted process, and that it is most effective when the true process of restoration of capitalism is kept under a veil. Suddenly, "socialism" becomes acceptable. Instead of "Soviet Russia" it is now "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." And instead of "Soviet zone of occupation" it is now "German Democratic Republic." The further revisionism and restoration of capitalism progress, the more this is presented as a trend to "democratic socialism." A great haze shimmering in all the colors of the ideological spectrum is intended to cover up the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries; first, in order to ensure the undisturbed progress of restoration of capitalism and its gearing with the capitalist economy of the West and, secondly, to discredit true socialism in the eyes of the working class and the working people of the imperialist countries. The process of liquidation of socialism and the restoration of capitalism, with their disastrous effects on the economy and working conditions on the one hand, and the advantages of the privileged on the other, are represented as "achievements of socialism" in imperialist propaganda. This is designed to confuse the workers in the private-capitalist countries. These workers' ideas of socialism, however, do not conform to the pseudo-socialism which is being palmed off on them here.

The convergence theory offers itself to the imperialists as one such ideological instrument to cloud the thinking of the working masses. This theory cleverly adapts bourgeois ideology to a changed situation. The convergence theory depicts the development of human society as the coming together of the socialist and capitalist systems, like two lines tending towards the same point, while, in reality, this development runs differently. Socialism and capitalism are opposed like fire to water. The two cannot be merged. One excludes the other. Socialism or capitalism — there is no common third. In the 1919 "Theses on Democracy and Dictatorship" Lenin stated unequivocally

> that in capitalist society, whenever there is any serious aggravation of the class struggle intrinsic to that society, there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamentations. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 463)

The convergence theory is therefore a theory for deceiving the masses to restrain them from class struggle. For if the capitalist and socialist systems automatically move towards each other, why should the exploited and oppressed masses struggle to abolish capitalist rule and establish socialism? The petty-bourgeois variant of the convergence theory also boils down to this. It makes no difference whether the petty-bourgeois convergency theorists mean well or are someone's agents. What Marx wrote way back in 1852, 120 years ago, applies to them:

The peculiar character of the social-democracy is epitomized in the fact that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as a means, not of doing away with two extremes, capital and wage labor, but of weakening their antagonism and transforming it into harmony. However different the means proposed for the attainment of this end may be, however much it may be trimmed with more or less revolutionary notions, the content remains the same. This content is the transformation of society in a democratic way, but a transformation within the bounds of the petty bourgeoisie. Only one must not form the narrow-minded notion that the petty bourgeoisie, on principle, wishes to enforce an egoistic class interest. Rather it believes that the *special* conditions of its emancipation are the *general* conditions within the frame of which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 423 and 424)

To avoid class struggle means to renounce socialism. Thus, the petty-bourgeois convergency theorists, too, as anti-imperialist as they basically may be, are serving the ends of state monopoly capitalism. This is characteristic of the contradictoriness of the petty-bourgeois position between the great classes, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

A petty bourgeois of this type glorifies *contradiction* because contradiction is the basis of his existence. He is himself nothing but social contradiction in action. He must justify in theory what he is in practice. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 527)

One might think that it would be all right with the revisionists if the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries were covered up by the convergence theory. But this is not the case. On the contrary, to carry out restoration smoothly they must avoid everything that creates even the slightest impression of convergence with the capitalism of the West. The revisionists are forced, instead, to put on socialism and Marxism-Leninism, in order to mask or cover up the traitorous line of revisionism by this deception. They continue to speak of "socialist" construction, even of "building communism," although they have introduced capitalism in a new form. The DKP (revisionist "German Communist Party" - The Editors) states in its "Theses" that it bases "its work on the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin" — and revises Marxism-Leninism in the theses that follow. At the XXIVth Party Congress Brezhnev proclaimed:

> The socialist social system, which is firmly established in the states now constituting the world socialist system, has proved its great viability in the historical contest with capitalism. (*Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Delivered by L. Brezhnev*, p. 9)

And that after having carried out the restoration of a new type of capitalism and having destroyed the foundations of socialist society. The revisionists failed "in the historical contest with capitalism" and betrayed socialism. If they had openly admitted this treachery, had publicly proclaimed the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat as such, and had acknowledged the restoration of capitalism as such and openly proclaimed it, they would surely have been swept away. They had to deceive the Soviet masses by seeking to sell their disgraceful betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and socialism as "further development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism." The convergence theory stands in the way of this, even though both, the convergence theory and the revisionist theory, pursue the same ideological objective: the deception of the masses. For the above reasons, the revisionists speak out against the theory of convergence, like Professor Hager, one of the most eager revisionists of the SED, at the 9th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the SED in October, 1968:

> All measures taken by the socialist countries to carry out the scientific and technological revolution [i.e., capitalist restoration - The Editors], such as new forms and methods of planning and management, are measures for progress in socialism [i.e., in the liquidation of socialism - The Editors] and not, as the convergency theorists maintain, modifications on the way to meeting with capitalism. There can be no combination of capitalism and socialism. Instead, the divergence between the two social systems is growing.

The revisionists consider their method of veiling the restoration of capitalism and deceiving the masses more effective than the method of the imperialist theorists of convergence, and so they reject it. But their reasons are altogether different from those of the Marxist-Leninists, who see in the convergence theory the imperialist attempt to throw dust in people's eyes about what is going on in the revisionist countries in connection with the restoration of capitalism, for the purpose of furthering this restoration all the more efficaciously and gradually integrating the neocapitalist economies of the revisionist countries in their system. The revisionists, on the other hand, fear that the convergence theory will draw attention precisely to the restoration of capitalism, which has not yet been completely carried out and consolidated, and that the masses could recognize the betrayal of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, which is exactly what they are trying to prevent by their swindle. That is why the revisionists oppose the theory of convergence, as if socialism still existed in the socialist countries, and as if they still adhered to Marxism-Leninism. The convergence theory as an imperialist stratagem thus runs counter to the revisionists' stratagem, although both aim at the same thing: to cloud the minds of the masses in the service of capitalism.

The Evolution Theory — the American Policy for Promoting Restoration of Capitalism and Collaboration on a Capitalist Basis

The theory of convergence is not the only theory to which imperialism gears its policy of promoting the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries and absorbing them into the imperialist system. The second major theory is the evolution theory. Though both theories were substantially influenced by the planning staff of the

U.S. State Department, the evolution theory probably has even greater significance for practical American politics.

The founder of the evolution theory is Professor Brzezinski, who rejects the convergence theory of the transformation of the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist. His evolution theory starts from a transformation of the socialist system and the possibility of unity on a capitalist basis. As early as October, 1959, John F. Kennedy pointed to the possibility of such an evolution in a speech in which he asked: "But if freedom in Eastern Europe is to come only by peaceful change, what can we do to encourage this gradual evolution...?" Brzezinski developed a concept for the practical politics of American imperialism in Europe for achieving this goal of Kennedy's. Consequently, in many respects the evolution theory is more interesting than the convergence theory.

Professor Brzezinski, Director of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University in New York, was appointed to the planning staff of the American State Department in the summer of 1966. In the introduction to the German edition of his book *Alternative to Partition,* quoted on the dust jacket, the political line of the book is summarized as follows:

> In this work the author traces a well-thought-out, logical plan for overcoming the division of Europe. He bases his plan on two assumptions. First, on the recognition by the West that communist rule cannot simply be removed again, hence also that German reunification cannot be achieved by direct political action. Second, on the great process of political change which set in in Eastern Europe after Stalin's death, in the course of which Communist Party leaders have among other things given up their hopes of successful communist revolutions in the West European countries. The new insights both in East and West Europe give rise to new prospects for rejoining the separated parts of this continent, and thus also to new prospects for German reunification.

Professor Brzezinski, who, significantly, was invited to Czechoslovakia by the Dubcek clique in the spring of 1968 for a series of lectures in Prague and other cities, and whose talks were received with applause by the revisionists, developed the political line summed up

above on behalf of the government of the U.S.A. Here we see one of the most important grounds for the American policy of "European detente." What role does the Federal Republic of Germany play in this? Professor Brzezinski writes:

> A more immediate practical consequence of the priority given to domestic self-interest over broader communist goals was the increasing isolation of East Germany from the rest of East Europe. During 1963 and 1964, the Federal German government, taking advantage of the persisting economic difficulties of several East European states and of the inability of the USSR to meet their investment needs, succeeded in negotiating trade agreements with Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria in which the East Europeans, after some initial hesitations, finally acceded to the West German formula linking West Berlin to the formal agreement. As a consequence, West German trade missions, with modified diplomatic status, were established in the East European capitals, representing West Germany and West Berlin.
>
> These agreements were concluded in the face of many East German public warnings that the West German government was pursuing aggressive and subversive goals and that the inclusion of West Berlin in the agreements was aimed at East Germany. (Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Alternative to Partition. For a Broader Conception of America's Role in Europe*, New York, 1965, p. 26)

Already then, a tendency could be seen (later made manifest by the Brandt-Scheel government's treaties with the Eastern Bloc) that this policy of "detente" would be at the expense of the G.D.R. The starting point of this policy was the end of the Cuban missile crisis, the climax of Soviet-American postwar tensions. Khrushchov capitulated to Kennedy and withdrew the nuclear missiles from Cuba. Since that time the tendency to "detente" slowly emerged, and the American policy began taking shape of furthering the restoration of capitalism, which had already begun in the Soviet Union, to destroy the foundations of socialism more quickly and more effectively and speed up restoration of capitalism. How did this process move ahead? Professor Brzezinski:

> On the Eastern side, Poland, Hungary, and above all Yugoslavia have been the most responsive to the Western desire for closer con-

> tact. On the Western European side, the lead has been taken by England, France, and Germany. In recent times Italy has also become involved, especially in the Balkans. France has been most active in Poland and the Soviet Union, where French professors and lecturers teach in some of the leading institutions. West Germany has succeeded in establishing extensive contacts, particularly with Czechoslovakia, but also with Poland and, to a lesser extent, with the other East European states, without having formal cultural agreements with them — or even, perhaps, *because* there were no such agreements. (*ibid.*, p. 51)

However, Professor Brzezinski warned the capitalists not to expect too much. He realized that the revisionist leaders in the Eastern European countries could not introduce capitalism overnight and consolidate it without meeting with resistance from the people. As explained in section III.1 there were difficulties in several of these countries, so that consolidation of the new type of capitalism would be a lengthier process. The important thing was to improve the economic situation in order to soothe the masses by offering them a material incentive. That is why the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries were especially interested in "economic aid" from the West. Before the former socialist countries were ruled by revisionists, they also concluded economic agreements with capitalist countries, but from a firm socialist ideological position. The revisionists have not only abandoned Marxism-Leninism in internal affairs, but also jettisoned all socialist principles in their intercourse with capitalist foreign countries. A commentary of June 1, 1964, asserted that extensive Western credits to Yugoslavia and Yugoslavian production based on Western licenses were compatible "with the construction of socialism." Capitalist penetration of the revisionist countries thus advanced in the economic field through agreements of these countries with the capitalist monopolies. Romania's foreign trade with the capitalist West came to 35 percent of its total foreign trade already in 1964. In June of 1964 an American-Romanian agreement was concluded providing for purchases of industrial equipment in the U.S.A. and loans with American guaranties. Professor Brzezinski described this nascent development in the following words:

> The nonideological character of industrial development thus threatens the ideological structure that reinforces the present political division of Europe. In the context of the return of international politics to East Europe, the preoccupation of the East European elites with the further economic growth of their own countries is already undermining the communist bloc orientation, with its traditionally Leninist dichotic image of the world. Speaking in 1964 at the United Nations World Trade Conference in Geneva, the Rumanian delegate proposed that members be grouped "with regard to their level of development regardless of their respective social or trade system." In effect, he was suggesting the primacy of the economic factor over the ideological....
>
> This increased emphasis on domestic considerations is likely to make the communist [he means the revisionist - The Editors] elites seek ways out of their economic dilemmas without too much regard for the ideologically influenced dichotic image of the world and doctrinaire economic practices. (*ibid.*, pp. 74 and 75)

The abandonment of socialist ideology by the revisionist leaders was the precondition for capitalist economic aid. The consequence was a significant increase in the foreign trade of the revisionist countries with the Western industrial countries, as the following figures show (in parentheses: percentage of total exports and imports):

In billions DM	1959	1969
Exports:	7.76 (16.6)	23.96 (23.8)
Imports:	9.65 (20.1)	24.44 (22.4)

The Chairman of the Board of Management of Dresdner Bank, Jürgen Ponto, who, together with other managers, sounded out the possibilities for trade with the East in Moscow in mid-1971, stated in an interview with the magazine *Wirtschaftswoche*:

> I think it is simply inevitable that Russia will have to integrate itself to a greater extent in world trade, in the world economy, in order to achieve its goals. Such an integration process normally releases forces which are closer to our economic system than to a purely state-run economic system. And in the end, lasting peace without economic areas opened to each side is unimaginable.

To this end the influx of bourgeois ideology on the basis of cul-

tural contacts must be promoted in addition to economic penetration. Economic and cultural relations were the most important tools of American policy for furthering capitalist restoration. A policy of this sort could not be successful until the revisionists usurped power in the Soviet Union. Under Lenin and Stalin all such attempts had failed. It was not until Khrushchov's coup d'etat, and the introduction and development of revisionism into a system by the time of the XXIInd Congress of the C.P.S.U., and after Khrushchov's adventure leading to the Cuban missile crisis, and his subsequent capitulation, that the time had come for the new U.S. policy towards Eastern Europe. Brzezinski characterizes this policy:

> The basic assumption of the new approach was that mere verbal hostility would not overthrow the communist regimes and that events in East Germany and Hungary had demonstrated that the West did not have the will to use force. Instead of waiting for the communist regimes to collapse, the United States would henceforth bank on promoting evolutionary changes within them and within the bloc as a whole. In the pursuit of this policy the United States took the initiative, rather ahead of the West European nations, in developing cultural contacts with the Soviet Union and with some of the East European nations. These contacts, according to an official report, were most extensive with Poland, followed by the Soviet Union, the other East European states lagging considerably behind. (Brzezinski, *Alternative to Partition*, p. 118)

Here we see how closely economic policy and ideology are coupled. U.S. imperialism knows full well that capitalist restoration in the revisionist countries cannot be promoted only by economic means. Penetration by bourgeois ideology must follow, initially through cultural relations.

Cultural relations also led to the exchange of scientists, for which the Ford Foundation provided some 2.3 million dollars in 1964. 5,500 American and 4,600 Soviet scientists were exchanged from 1956 to 1964. All this served to further the restoration of capitalism and took place on the basis of mutual "detente." Professor Brzezinski thus concludes:

> Accordingly, the American-Soviet detente had to be used by

America as a *means* of a policy specifically designed to reduce the Soviet interest in perpetuating the division of Europe. Detente had to be the proclaimed point of departure for steps designed eventually to end the European and the German division, a goal to which few Europeans could object....

In the post-Cuba detente, there is a broader opportunity for the West to come to grips with the basic problem of East-West relations. By taking the initiative, America would point up the broader scope of America's European policy and accelerate the tendencies in the East which are favorable to closer East-West relations. The appropriate content of such an initiative would be economic, since that is the most vulnerable point in East Europe, and since the possibility of East-West economic cooperation has achieved a certain ideological respectability in East Europe....

A venture of this kind would take advantage of the West's economic strength, of economic pressures in the East, and of **the growing appeal of the European idea** [bourgeois ideology - The Editors] **in Eastern Europe in contrast to the waning attraction of communist ideology**. There is reason to hope that West Europeans would be ready to make the contributions necessary to bring this collective enterprise into being. (*ibid.*, pp. 122, 169 and 170; boldface emphasis added by us - The Editors)

This is the open proclamation of the American policy of promoting, by economic aid and ideological means, the beginning restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries, and initiating integration of these revisionist countries in the capitalist system of the West. This was to be achieved by increasingly closer cooperation. American policy-makers assume for this plan that the earlier socialist education of the masses in these countries has been undermined, or eliminated, by revisionist policies, and that socialist consciousness has been largely supplanted by bourgeois ideology. Professor Brzezinski is quite candid about this:

The idea of rejoining Europe would generate much popular enthusiasm in East Europe. The economic opportunity thereby presented would doubtless be attractive to the harassed East European economic cadres. The economic character of the proposal would diminish the suspicions of the political elites....

If actually launched, and in operation for a period of years, such

> unprecedented multilateral economic cooperation would sooner or later create a favorable context for resolving peacefully the many outstanding European political and security problems. (*ibid.*, p. 171)

Several years have passed since this was written. What has been the result? We only have to let the Brandt-Scheel government's *Ostpolitik* of the last year pass review to see how the American plan is being put into practice step by step. Stronger economic ties through trade agreements (five-year trade pact with Romania in December, 1969; trade agreement with Poland in October of 1970, with Hungary at the end of 1970, with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1971), German-Soviet accord and the "settlement" of the Berlin issue mark the stages of the new initiative. It is calculated that this initiative will give rise to differences in the revisionist camp, the expectation being that Moscow's revisionist position will be strengthened, the resistance of the revisionist leadership in East Berlin weakened.

It is planned to shape even closer relations with Eastern Europe. In 1970, the Federation of German Industries established an 80-member "Working Group Romania." Such working groups were also in planning for Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria from the end of 1971 to the spring of 1972. Apart from these contacts on the economic policy level, political contacts will be made through groups of parliamentarians. In February, 1971, the German-Soviet parliamentary group comprising 104 SPD, 39 CDU/CSU, and 16 FDP members was formed; and in June, 1971, the German-Romanian group with 31 SPD, 25 CDU/CSU and 6 FDP members of parliament. The German-Polish and German-Yugoslav MP groups followed.

Thus we find chiefly two means being used to secure the success of the American policy with the support of German monopoly capital, in order to pave the way for and carry out the gradual integration of all revisionist countries in the capitalist system of the West.

1. Economic penetration with capitalist economic aid from the West by means of trade agreements, long-term loans (Britain granted the Soviet Union a 15-year credit, which practically amounted to development aid; Denmark, Japan and France followed with seven-year loans), capital investment and joint production agreements (joint ventures).

The objection might be raised that there have been in the past, and still are, trade relations between socialist and capitalist countries. Yes, but subject to the stringent controls of the state foreign trade monopoly. Professor Brzezinski sees this monopoly as a major impediment to implementing American policy when he writes:

> Until such time as the communist states are prepared to revise their system of state monopoly in foreign trade ... it is doubtful that a very significant development in East-West trade can take place. (*ibid.*, p. 66/67)

He therefore demands:

> A proper climate for Western businessmen in the communist states has first to be created: easy access to economic leaders and to economic data, opportunities to inspect factories. (*ibid.*, p. 67)

That means complete insight into the economy of the country, to which they are already well on their way. "At the end of 1970, more than 20 West European companies maintained permanent offices in Moscow," Ivan Ivanov tells us. The number of cooperations in the technological field is also steadily increasing. Ivan Ivanov: "Since the mid-sixties more than 400 agreements on such cooperation have been concluded. More than 20 of them led to the founding of joint enterprises."

These cooperative deals involve joint construction projects, joint production, technology exchange, and so on. In the meantime, cooperation has been extended to research, production and sales. Today there are already more than 35 permanent offices in Moscow representing trusts from Western capitalist countries. Farbwerke Hoechst, Siemens and Mannesmann AG from the F.R.G. received permission to establish accredited offices in Moscow.

Not much time went by, and in the sixties one revisionist country after the other loosened its foreign trade restrictions, which Professor Brzezinski noted with satisfaction:

> These changes in attitude suggest that economic pressures were capable of profoundly changing earlier communist views and practices. Indeed, these external changes have been paralleled by domes-

> tic reforms. The climate surrounding Western businessmen in East Europe and Russia improved enormously during the early sixties. Some of the East European states, notably Poland and Czechoslovakia, began to revise their foreign trade structure, and it is to be expected that all the communist states will do likewise. (Brzezinski, *Alternative to Partition*, p. 68)

Are there already tendencies in the revisionist countries to break through the foreign trade monopoly? Yes, there are. Some revisionist economists even give voice to them openly, clearest of all perhaps Pavol Mazanik, general manager of the United Garment Enterprises, Trencin, Slovakia, who stated his opinion on future foreign trade relations in a poll of the magazine *Moderni Fizeni*:

> I think that the monopoly of the trade organs will be broken, which will give the enterprises greater opportunities for sales in domestic and in foreign markets....
>
> In foreign trade relations I presume that the enterprises will get the chance to build up their own sales apparatus, which would secure direct sale of products to foreign countries, independent of the enterprise responsible for foreign trade relations. I assume that the effectivity of foreign trade relations will be conditioned by the free convertibility of our currency.

This means the liquidation of one of the most important foundations of socialist economy: the foreign trade monopoly. It means throwing open the doors to foreign private-capitalists.

2. Ideological penetration through introduction of Western culture by means of cultural agreements, suitable radio and television transmissions, encouragement of a petty-bourgeois lifestyle (aided by the privileges of the bureaucracy), undermining of socialist morals, and so on. The penetration of bourgeois ideology from capitalist foreign countries was facilitated by the fact that revisionism is a variety of bourgeois ideology. It does not come as a surprise that the revisionists subordinate ideological issues to economic interests. Socialist ideology is destroyed from within and without, hand in glove, facilitating the implementation of American policy.

Since the socialist countries came into existence, the foreign bourgeoisie has always endeavored to shake the socialist foundations,

partly by applying economic pressures, partly by making attractive economic overtures, accompanied by all methods of propaganda. They enjoyed no success, however, as long as the C.P.S.U. under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership watched carefully in the Soviet Union to ensure that the foundations of socialism remained firm and were secured by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The successful application of economic and ideological methods by the surrounding capitalist world was only made possible by the gradual undermining of the socialist foundations in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries by a revisionist leadership.

The Development of Socialist Ideology and Culture Following the October Revolution

The October Revolution not only created the political and economic prerequisites for the building of socialism by changing the material relations of power, but also broke with bourgeois ideology and culture, which had dominated up to then. With the transformation of the economic base, the superstructure of society was also changed step by step. Material life is the basis of the intellectual, political, cultural and ideological processes of human society. Social being determines consciousness. Marx provides an outstanding explanation of this material basis of ideology and culture in his Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*:

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not **the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.** At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which

they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 503 and 504; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

In a class society there is no uniform ideology and culture for all people. In his concluding remarks at the Yenan Forum on Arts and Literature on May 23, 1942, Mao Zedong said:

> In the world today, all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. III, p. 86)

The material life of human beings differs and is based on class situation. The material life, for example, of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is completely different. The class interests of these principal classes in our present-day society are irreconcilably contradictory. The bourgeoisie as ruling class also determines the ruling ideas in capitalist society. As owner of the means of production, the bourgeoisie constitutes the ruling material power and thus, simultaneously, the ruling intellectual power. As ruling material power the bourgeoisie determines the material life of society and exploits the working class and other working strata. As ruling intellectual power it determines the intellectual life of society, suppresses the ideas of the working class and the working people, limits their freedom of

speech and creates illusions about their class situation.

Just as the material life of bourgeoisie and proletariat are totally different, so too is their intellectual life. In *Manifesto of the Communist Party* we read:

> Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life.?
>
> What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.
>
> When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 125)

Within capitalist society, such new ideas, revolutionary ideas, have formed which stand in irreconcilable contradiction to the ruling intellectual power of the bourgeoisie. We are speaking of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat. The bourgeois ideology of the ruling bourgeoisie is engaged in fiercest struggle with the proletarian ideology of the oppressed working class. This is the expression of the class contradictions in the intellectual field. The class struggle in the economic and political field to improve or change the material existence of the working class and the working people reflects in the class struggle in the ideological and cultural field (not only during the reign of the bourgeoisie, but also after the seizure of power by the victorious proletariat). Lenin aptly expressed the basic context of the class struggle of the proletariat against bourgeois ideology and culture in the draft resolution "On Proletarian Culture":

> All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the

aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man....

All the experience of modern history and, particularly, the more than half-century-old revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries since the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto* has unquestionably demonstrated that the Marxist world outlook is the only true expression of the interests, the viewpoint, and the culture of the revolutionary proletariat.

Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be recognized as the development of a genuine proletarian culture. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 316 and 317)

Ideological and cultural development of the masses went hand in hand with construction of the material basis of socialism. A radical break was made with the old reactionary bourgeois ideology and culture without destroying the valuable cultural achievements of bourgeois society. On the contrary, all that was progressive in the old cultures was assimilated as far as it was of service to the proletariat. A higher culture appropriate to socialist society emerged. The creative character of labor reflected in the creative development of proletarian culture, which is closely connected with the material, practical and also intellectual activities of the working class. The higher the socialist consciousness of the masses, the higher the level of socialist culture.

With the development of capitalism to imperialism, to state monopoly capitalism, with its tendency to stagnation, decay and parasitism, bourgeois culture degenerated into cultural refuse of capitalist society. Capitalist commodity production also made commodities of cultural products, of the arts and sciences. With the growth of mass production, imperialist mass culture became dominant. This stupefy-

ing mass culture is designed, on the one hand, to influence the masses ideologically and hold them back from class struggle, while on the other hand it mirrors the decay of the political, religious, cultural and philosophical superstructure of imperialist society.

Since the beginning of Soviet power, the imperialist system has always tried to undermine or corrupt the socialist foundations through ideological and cultural influence. The importance of this imperialist strategy of ideological struggle against socialism grew with the realization that the socialist system could not be eliminated either by military action or economic sabotage.

For example, in 1950 and 1951 the American broadcasting stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were established in Munich with a staff of 2,600. These radio stations were financed by the American secret services to the tune of 36 million dollars annually. They served systematically to broadcast subversive propaganda to the then socialist countries, above all during the "Cold War" period. The socialist countries could successfully combat this insidious strategy of American imperialism only by developing and strengthening socialist ideology on the basis of a certain cultural level of the broad masses of the people. For this reason, creation of a socialist culture was just as important as the economic development of the country. Mao Zedong emphasized therefore:

> There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; the two [cultures - The Editors] are locked in a life and death struggle.
>
> As for the new culture, it is the ideological reflection of the new politics and the new economy which it sets out to serve." ("On New Democracy," in: *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. II, p. 369 and 370)

The creation of this new culture was just as difficult, however, as all other aspects of socialist construction, for in czarist Russia the masses of the people lived without education and culture. Following the October Revolution it was not a question of having the people partake of bourgeois culture, but of creating a new culture. The political and economic revolution consequently is closely related to the cultural revolution. Without a new, socialist culture, proletarian

revolution cannot win in the long run. The political, economic and cultural revolutions form a unity and interact with each other. Socialist culture reflects socialist politics and economy. This reflection of the life of socialist society finds expression in revolutionary literature and art. But creating this is only possible if the writers and artists take their subjects and their heroes from the life of the people and depict them realistically.

Lenin took issue with the arguments of West European social democrats who claimed that the Soviet people were "not yet mature enough for socialism" because not only the economic but also the cultural prerequisites were lacking. Lenin replied:

> If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism (although nobody can say just what that definite "level of culture" is, for it differs in every West-European country), why cannot we begin by first achieving prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations? (Lenin: "Our Revolution," in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 478)

A tremendous work began in the cultural field in the Soviet Union, a struggle to develop the new, to get content and form on a socialist track. In a talk with Clara Zetkin, Lenin said:

> The awakening, the activity of forces which will create a new art and new culture in Soviet Russia ... is good, very good....
>
> The revolution is liberating all the forces which have been held back, and is driving them up from the depths to the surface. (Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, London, 1929)

He opposed the intrusion of bourgeois art trends which were being foisted on the people as "the new." "I have the courage to show myself a 'barbarian'," Lenin said to Clara Zetkin.

> I cannot value the works of expressionism, futurism, cubism, and other isms as the highest expressions of artistic genius. I don't understand them. They give me no pleasure.

The different bourgeois art trends seek to divest art of its material

content to show the "spiritual" core. The artists represent something which they have "in mind," something abstract, not something real. Such bourgeois art is nothing for the people. The people need art which is connected with their material life, an art of socialist realism, which takes the life and struggle of the working people as starting point and is understood by the people. Lenin thus demanded:

> Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the broad masses of workers. It must be understood and loved by them. It must be rooted in and grow with their feelings, thoughts and desires. It must arouse and develop the artist in them....
>
> So that art may come to the people, and the people to art, we must first of all raise the general level of education and culture....
>
> Our workers and peasants ... have the right to true, great art. So, before everything else, wide popular education and instruction. They are the cultural soil — assuming the bread assured, on which a truly new, great art will grow up, a Communist art, arranging its forms in accordance with its content. (Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin*)

The new art of socialist realism came into being in the Soviet Union and, with the vanquishing of the old bourgeois superstructure, and on the basis of the socialist superstructure, attained highest levels of accomplishment. In Part II of our analysis we explained that socialist consciousness is the mainspring of socialist labor productivity. The economic basis of society flourished to the degree in which socialist consciousness took hold of the masses. The superstructure of socialist society also developed and consolidated to the degree in which socialist consciousness captured and spurred on the masses in all areas of intellectual life. This all was safeguarded by the material and mental power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Destruction of Socialist Ideology and Culture and the Penetration of Bourgeois Ideology and Culture into Soviet Society

The coup d'etat of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union changed the superstructure of socialist society, abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat and revised the socialist ideology, Marxism-Leninism. That was the precondition for changing the economic base

of society through restoration of capitalism in new form. That was also the starting point for the destruction of socialist ideology and culture. In *What is to be done?* Lenin emphasized:

> the *only* choice is — either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology *in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 384)

We proved in the second part of this publication that economic laws of capitalism, once introduced, operate in society automatically. They not only operate within the economic base, but also interact with the superstructure of society. Thus, with the introduction of pursuit of profit and material incentives, these economic laws act not only on production, but also influence the ideology of the working class, but not as the revisionists would have us believe. Grigori Glezerman, for example, asserts in his article "Contradictions of Societal Development in Socialism" in *World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)* No. 3, 1972: "Renouncing material incentives does not encourage labor but ultimately robs it of the moral incentives which are, after all, the ideological expression of the material interest of society." The revisionist Glezerman turns reality upside down. His claim is that the moral incentives are only awakened and strengthened by interest in personal betterment, and are weakened if one turns aside from these material incentives. Accordingly, prior to introduction of material incentives the socialist consciousness of the Soviet citizens must have been poorly developed. But it is exactly the other way around: pursuit of profit and material incentives as decisive means of creating material interest have undermined the moral incentives and socialist consciousness, and have given rise to egotism and corruption. Abandoning material interest (which, however, would only be possible by re-introducing socialism) naturally will not automatically awaken and strengthen socialist consciousness and high communist morale. That can only be achieved by communist education of the masses to raise socialist consciousness.

Every ruling class supports itself by an ideology which is the ex-

pression of its interests. Through the seizure of power by the revisionist bureaucracy, the foundation of socialist ideology as the **ruling** ideology of the working class was abolished. Carrying through the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union step by step drove socialist ideology also out of all sectors of society step by step. Like every capitalist class, the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union cannot get along without a ruling ideology. Capitalist laws in economy demand a bourgeois ideology, in the Soviet Union, too.

Every belittlement of socialist ideology automatically led to the emergence of bourgeois ideology, which grew into the ruling ideology of the new bourgeoisie, though concealed behind "socialist"-sounding phrases. The new bourgeoisie disguised its capitalism with the nameplate "socialism."

We recapitulate: **where socialist ideology stops, bourgeois ideology inevitably begins; where socialist consciousness is destroyed, bourgeois thought necessarily begins.**

This process of destruction of socialist ideology in the Soviet Union was fostered by the outside capitalist world. The openly subversive "Cold War" propaganda was adapted to the new conditions of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of Eastern Europe. Francis Rosenstiel urged in the magazine *liberal* No. 1, 1972:

> Communism of the type we find in Eastern Europe has become far more flexible compared to what it was like ten years ago.... So any proselytizing or crusading spirit, even if it be a crusade in the name of that modern-day catchword "freedom," should be frowned upon in the interest of the new relations which we have with Eastern Europe.

As a practical consequence of this policy, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty changed their propaganda to fit the new situation. Since crude, openly anticommunist "red-baiting" no longer was in line with the new American policy of "detente," i.e., the promotion of the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries (or is an obstacle to "supporting liberal reform tendencies in communism," as it is officially called), the CIA funds for the two radio stations were frozen. They were placed in the charge of the American State Depart-

ment for one year and given the following assignment: "Both radio stations guarantee the individual citizen [in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe - The Editors] realistic reporting on their system and on the free world." In other words, the American foreign ministry promotes capitalist development in the revisionist countries by propagating bourgeois ideology through the broadcasting stations, using this influence to bring about economic and political collaboration with the capitalist West.

The new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union must declare bourgeois ideology the leading intellectual force in its dominions in order to defend its interests and consolidate capitalist rule. In doing so it becomes caught up in the same contradiction which arises in the economic sphere: socialism in words, capitalism and imperialism in deeds! It cannot openly proclaim the introduction of bourgeois ideology and culture; therefore, the revisionist leaders in the Soviet Union paved the way for bourgeois ideology and culture, especially bourgeois art, to infiltrate through official cultural agreements with capitalist foreign countries.

In the joint French-Soviet statement of October 30, 1971, both sides underscore their intention to deepen cultural relations between the two countries.

> They declare their willingness to promote exchange in all areas of culture — radio, television, art, film, education, sports, information — as well as contacts between citizens of both countries, especially exchange between youth organizations. They point out that in spite of the successes already achieved in these fields there are still great opportunities to deepen cooperation further. (*Sowjetunion heute* of November 16, 1971)

The infiltration of bourgeois ideology and culture, in "all areas of culture," cannot be encouraged more openly. The revisionists will say that this is no one-way street. They also send their cultural products to the capitalist West. These pseudo-socialist cultural productions are everything but proletarian art. With rare exceptions, Soviet, Polish, Czech or Hungarian films shown in movie theaters and on television in the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, are no different from the bourgeois films of the capitalist West. Worse, they

are not even nearly as good as some socially critical films from Italy, France, Brazil or Mexico.

The cultural agreement between the Soviet Union and the F.R.G provides for exchange of films. Assistant Secretary Bieberstein officially negotiated with Soviet counterparts on improving the exchange of films between both countries. A separate agreement on films is planned following the conclusion of a trade pact.

Since 1958 the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and the administration of U.S. imperialism have renewed and expanded their "cultural exchange" agreement every two years. With the American policy of "detente," this cultural exchange became more and more cordial. One American jazz band after the other has played in the Soviet Union, in some cases even together with Soviet jazz bands. No wonder the Soviet musicians were praised by Nixon's special art advisor Garment for having "studied" U.S. jazz so well. The revisionists freely admit that U.S. jazz and American pop hits have been spread throughout the Soviet Union in tape and record form for years. An enthusiastic reception was given the American "king of jazz" Duke Ellington in Leningrad when he began his tour through the Soviet Union in September, 1971. Revisionist Ivetna Knyazeva was quite frank in stating to Mr. Ellington:

> We believe in the Soviet Union that international cultural exchange has a significance beyond the purely artistic. We believe that cultural exchange also smooths the way to mutual understanding between peoples.

So the Soviet people is supposed to acquire an appreciation for bourgeois culture, bourgeois art and bourgeois ideology. Foreign bourgeois authors are becoming more and more popular in the Soviet Union. According to official Soviet figures, in 1969 alone 689 foreign bellestric works were published in a total of 35.9 million copies in the Soviet Union. The revisionist editor-in-chief of the German-language magazine *Sowjetliteratur*, Dangulov, praised the foreign bourgeois literature and its authors:

> Foreign literature offers the Soviet reader a selection of the best available on foreign book markets.... On occasion of my frequent trips

abroad I also got to know many an author personally. I now try to turn these contacts to the advantage of *Sowjetliteratur*. We want to make it a rule that our editors, when they visit the different foreign countries, also look up the writers of these countries, as a means of knitting closer ties. (*Sowjetunion heute* of January 1, 1970)

The revisionists are entirely aware of the effect of bourgeois art on the masses. Grigori Nedoshivin states in *Sowjetunion heute* of March 1, 1971:

Bourgeois art is even taking on quite accessible forms of an artistic "mass culture" today. Even more important, accessibility and seductiveness have been raised to a principle there, calculated to spread the bourgeois ideology among the broad masses. But this art, of course, does not reveal truth, but only cynical distortion of reality.

If the doors are opened wide to bourgeois art despite this, it is a conscious act: proletarian culture must be destroyed and replaced by bourgeois culture.

Thus, the revisionists have not only restored capitalism in economic terms, but also ideologically. That effects literature and art. The contradiction which used to exist between socialist and bourgeois ideology, between socialist literature and art and capitalist literature and art, is not only being blurred by the revisionists. All that is socialist is being systematically destroyed and supplanted by bourgeois ideology, literature and art. In the *Pravda* of December 18, 1969, Yuri Savadski admitted:

Yet from time to time we all become witnesses to facts which indicate that individual authors not only propagate ideas in their writings which are hostile to Marxism-Leninism, but, through their behavior, directly involve themselves in the hostile activities of the ideologists of capitalist society directed against our class.... From time to time, works appear in our country which express a biased, deprecatory attitude of the authors to our life and which confuse the true relationships between the positive and negative aspects of objective reality.

In carrying out capitalist restoration the revisionists cannot dispense with the nameplate "socialism." That is why they oppose the convergence theory, the all too open approach to the capitalist sys-

tem. For the same reason they condemn the writers who propagate bourgeois ideology too openly. That is why Solzhenitsyn, who received the Nobel Prize for Literature, was expelled from the writers' association of the Soviet Union. The revisionists want the spreading of bourgeois ideology to proceed step by step, systematically, and in a disciplined way. The inoculation of the Soviet people with the poison of bourgeois ideology should proceed imperceptibly. Too obvious bourgeois propaganda could alarm the masses and provoke them to fight the revisionist leadership, the new bourgeoisie.

The capitalist ideologists understand this. Consequently, they promote the export of Czechoslovakian graphics to the West. They carefully note the "changes" in the former "socialist realism." They find to their satisfaction that the "new realism" in Soviet painting reminds them of the "magic realism" of American landscape artistry. Imperceptibly, the socialist contents are eliminated by means of abstract art forms. Socialist ideology, culture and art are thus systematically displaced by the bourgeois counterparts.

Economic and ideological furtherance of the restoration of capitalism by the capitalist West and integration in the imperialist system do not mean that the contradictions between imperialism and social-imperialism are eliminated. These contradictions continue to exist and necessarily intensify as the social-imperialist foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union or U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression intensify. The exacerbation of the contradictions also comes out in the ideological field. The imperialists pursue selfish goals with their promotion of economic and ideological restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. They, and above all the U.S. imperialists, know all too well that a social-imperialist Soviet Union is weaker than a socialist Soviet Union, that the colonial system of the social-imperialists in Eastern Europe is charged with social dynamite and, therefore, is an unreliable "ally" of social-imperialism. U.S. imperialism will take advantage of this, both ideologically and militarily, as the contradictions intensify.

5. Problems of the Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union

The Change in the Social Position of the Working Class

The development of the Soviet Union from a socialist country to a new brand of capitalist country raises entirely new problems which force the Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union not only to adapt their ideological struggle but also to take up systematic revolutionary activity against the revisionist leadership, against the new bourgeoisie. This causes them great difficulty. In particular, they often do not understand what has really transpired. In a speech at a conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1962 Mao Zedong said:

> The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long.

To maintain their capitalist rule, the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union are compelled to refer to Marxism-Leninism in words and employ unparalleled demagogy against the communists in deeds. But this also goes to show how deeply rooted in the masses Marxism-Leninism still is today. The revisionists know exactly: they cannot stay in power long unless they disguise themselves as "Marxists." Undoubtedly, not a few sincere Soviet communists have been duped by this demagogy. Even though they sense that many things are not as they used to be, even though they do not agree with many measures taken by the revisionist leadership, they believe that the Soviet Union is still a socialist country and that the workers still hold power.

Therefore, the revisionist leaders attempt with all their arsenal of demagogy to keep the masses believing this. Above all, they do not want the Soviet workers to become conscious of their situation. The working class in the Soviet Union has not yet fully realized that its

social position in society has changed entirely. Stalin explained the changes in Soviet society in his "Report at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.":

> Take, for example, the working class of the U.S.S.R. By force of habit, it is often called the proletariat. But what is the proletariat? The proletariat is a class bereft of the instruments and means of production, under an economic system in which the instruments and means of production belong to the capitalists and in which the capitalist class exploits the proletariat. The proletariat is a class exploited by the capitalists. But in our country, as you know, the capitalist class has already been eliminated, and the instruments and means of production have been taken from the capitalists and transferred to the state, the leading force of which is the working class. Consequently, there is no longer a capitalist class which could exploit the working class. Consequently, our working class, far from being bereft of the instruments and means of production, on the contrary, possesses them jointly with the whole people. And since it possesses them, and the capitalist class has been eliminated, all possibility of the working class being exploited is precluded. This being the case, can our working class be called a proletariat? Clearly, it cannot. Marx said that if the proletariat is to emancipate itself, it must crush the capitalist class, take the instruments and means of production from the capitalists, and abolish the conditions of production which give rise to the proletariat. Can it be said that the working class of the U.S.S.R. has already brought about these conditions for its emancipation? Unquestionably, it can and must be said. And what does this mean? This means that the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has been transformed into an entirely new class, into the working class of the U.S.S.R., which has abolished the capitalist economic system, which has established the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production and is directing Soviet society along the road to communism.
>
> As you see, the working class of the U.S.S.R. is an entirely new working class, a working class emancipated from exploitation, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, pp. 800 and 801)

The working class was the ruling class in the Soviet Union, and free of exploitation. It exercised its power through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The essence of the new working class had changed completely from earlier, from the time before the October Revolu-

tion. But what is the situation today? Following the usurpation of power by the revisionist bureaucracy, the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the restoration of a new type of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the social position of the working class once again changed fundamentally, i.e., it was thrown back to its position prior to the October Revolution. The new working class was put back in the position of an unfree, exploited and oppressed class once again. Since this transformation did not take place through an open counterrevolution or intervention of foreign imperialism, but came on imperceptibly, incredibly quietly, like a slow-acting poison, this process and its fundamental effect on the social position of the working class were not immediately noticed. On the outside hardly anything had changed. Often, the same people as before sat in the leadership of Party, state and economy. It was not easy to see that in many cases they had degenerated to revisionists, since they continued to use Marxist words and explained everything with the supposed transition to communism. The genuine Marxist-Leninists, who recognized and fought against the demagogic game played by the revisionist bureaucracy, were persecuted and locked away. The workers and salaried employees in large part let themselves be deceived by material incentives and did not notice that they were selling their freedom for the mess of pottage of higher bonuses and had placed themselves in a new state of slavery.

The first and most important step of the Soviet proletariat in its process of cognition is thus to analyze that it has been made an exploited class once again, whose new situation corresponds to that of the exploited and oppressed workers of the Western capitalist countries; to analyze that the new class situation conditions a new class contradiction and the corresponding class struggle against the new bourgeoisie. The more quickly this is understood by the masses, the sooner the new proletariat will form itself and consciously press forward its struggle for its economic and political interests, all the way to overthrowing the new bourgeoisie and reestablishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionist leaders see the danger which such a development poses to them. They do everything to make the C.P.S.U., once a Bol-

shevik party under Lenin and Stalin, a compliant instrument of their rule. They have changed the Party of the working class into a "party of the entire people." Their intention was to obscure the class character of the Party, so as to be able to suppress inner-party democracy more easily and fill the most important positions with revisionist elements. But when the elimination of inner-party democracy becomes all too apparent and dissatisfaction arises among the members, even the Soviet press prints reports about party life from time to time in order to reassure the members. *Pravda* of November 22, 1969, reported, for example:

> Problems arose in the organizing meeting of the newly elected party bureau. V. Milovanov, representing the district party committee of Kadom, member of the bureau of the district party committee and chairman of the executive committee of the district soviet, hurriedly proposed comrade P. Kochekov for the position of secretary of the party organization without asking the opinion of the members of the party bureau. But since Kochekov, being a new member of the collective, was not well known, a second proposal was made to reelect the previous secretary, P. Kononov. When comrade Milovanov's proposal was not accepted, Milovanov, as chairman of the meeting, did not allow a vote on the candidacy of comrade Kononov.... The next time the secretary of the district party committee, V. Volkov, came to the meeting. It began all over. Only this time comrade Volkov gave us this "statement": "The higher party bodies have decided that party members who hold responsible elected offices cannot be elected secretary of party organizations. Comrade Volkov is a people's judge. That is an elected office. The district party committee will not confirm him as secretary of a party organization." However, comrade Volkov was neither able to show the committee this "decision," nor could he say who exactly issued this decision and when....

An isolated example? *Babinski rabochi* of March 22, 1970, writes:

> The district organizations proposed a candidate for the office of collective farm chairman. The meeting had no quorum. Several of the collective farmers vigorously rejected the proposed candidate and walked out of the meeting. The next day the farmers saw the man whose election they opposed sitting behind the secretary's desk.

When the revisionists took over power they proceeded to "cleanse" the leading party organs thoroughly. A comparison of the name lists of the members of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. shows that 70 percent of the CC members elected by the XIXth Party Congress (1952) were removed at the XXth and XXIInd congresses. (No new elections were held at the XXIst Party Congress.) Of the CC members elected at the XXth Party Congress, half were also purged by the time the XXIInd Party Congress was over. Simultaneously, the revisionists took every effort to change the class composition of the Party. Brezhnev admitted in his speech to the XXIVth Party Congress:

> The Party composition is: 40.1 percent workers, 15.1 percent collective farmers, and 44.8 percent office workers. (*Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress. Delivered by L. Brezhnev*, p. 109)

In a lecture at the international scientific conference on "The growing role of the communist and workers' parties in the revolutionary process of the building of socialism and communism" in Berlin in June, 1970, M. I. Khaldeev (member of the Central Auditing Commission of the C.P.S.U.) said:

> Currently, in the leading party bodies and in the apparatus of the party committees the number of specialists from the various branches of industry — engineers, agronomists, economists, philosophers, historians, et cetera — is constantly increasing. Today more than 95 percent of the secretaries of the urban committees of the party have a university education, a great many of them in the engineering field. In rural areas 91.1 percent of the secretaries have a higher education.

So the working class has less and less to say in the "people's" party, which is under the control of parts of the intelligentsia which are tightly linked with the new bourgeoisie and have turned the party committees into executive organs for carrying out the orders of the ruling clique.

We have already analyzed that the Soviet Union is a capitalist state today, whose people are under the extremely antipeople and antidemocratic dictatorship of an infinitesimally small number of monopoly-capitalist bureaucrats. The monopoly bourgeoisie keeps

itself in power with an army armed to its teeth, with police and secret services. It ruthlessly suppresses every oppositional tendency. It is evident that this monopoly bourgeoisie will not voluntarily give up power and will not be displaced by any peaceful means. If the communists in the Soviet Union want to reestablish the dictatorship of the proletariat, they must drop any idea that the former conditions could be brought back by reforms. It is impossible to effect fundamental changes within the revisionist party and the existing state apparatus of the new bourgeoisie. Rather, the true communists must defend Marxism-Leninism and fight the destruction of socialist ideology among the broad masses, taking advantage of all opportunities offered by the law. They must make clear to the working class of the Soviet Union that there is no other way to regain power than the way shown by Lenin. They must therefore prepare themselves to smash the social-imperialist state machinery by force.

The Struggle of the Masses Against the New Capitalist Class Rule

The most advanced section of the Soviet proletariat has already drawn this conclusion and founded Marxist-Leninist organizations whose goal is to carry out a second October Revolution. Several programmatic publications of such groups as the "Revolutionary (Bolshevik) Communists of the Soviet Union," the "Stalin Group" and others have been smuggled out and published abroad. We can say almost nothing about the work of these groups since it is conspirative in nature. The Soviet press keeps mum on the communist opposition in the Soviet Union. We gather from the accessible material of the groups mentioned that all consider the unification of the Soviet communists in a new Bolshevik party an urgent task. We can also be certain that those communists who have not yet completely broken with the revisionists will see through the crimes of social-imperialism more and more clearly, and that, for them, the question how long they are still willing to tolerate revisionist rule will become more and more pressing.

An illustrious example of struggle against the ruling revisionist bureaucracy was provided by the Polish working class. At the end of 1970, the Polish Council of Ministers carried its arbitrary rule too far

with sharp price increases for food and everyday necessities. The workers in Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot, Sczcecin and other cities went out on strike and staged mass demonstrations for their demands, sang *The Internationale* and, in Szczecin, stormed police headquarters. The revisionist state apparatus called out military and militia, tanks and helicopters. They fired into the crowds — as in fascist states — killing and wounding many workers. But the mass storm forced Gomulka, the revisionist leader, to resign. The Polish workers had recognized their new situation as an exploited proletariat and successfully taken up class struggle.

Apart from the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist opposition there is a bourgeois opposition in the Soviet Union, about which the Western press is able to tell us so much. This is an opposition of a fundamentally different kind. It is composed of representatives of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, who do not call the restoration of capitalism in question, take openly anticommunist positions, in essence, and consider the bourgeois democracies of the West as their model. They oppose the terrorist measures of the ruling clique, which has completely monopolized power and does not even want to guarantee bourgeois-democratic rights to the other parts of the bourgeoisie. The resistance of broad sections of bourgeois and petty bourgeois, and especially of large parts of the intelligentsia, against the dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie is an important symptom of the general political crisis of the new capitalism and of the utter isolation of the ruling clique. There is a chance the communists will enter an alliance with the democratic sections of the bourgeois opposition on certain issues in the struggle for democratic rights.

Finally, in the Soviet Union there is another important reserve of the revolution, the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities against Great Russian chauvinism and national oppression by the ruling clique. Lenin and Stalin repeatedly pointed out that every bourgeois multinational state is bound to fail and emphasized that equality of nations is only conceivable in socialism. In the multinational states the unity of the people is destroyed because capitalism has been restored. The national contradictions increasingly gain intensity. Yugoslavia constantly threatens to fall apart.

The resistance of the oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union can no longer be kept secret. The Soviet Marxist-Leninists recognize the nationalities' right to self-determination on the basis of Lenin's national policy. In this way the fascist and other elements in the service of foreign imperialism, who strive to point the struggle of the nationalities in a direction which is suitable to them, are sure to be exposed and isolated, and the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union will be restored on a higher level.

So how should one stand towards the Soviet Union? Thesis 17 of the DKP Programme says: "The DKP agrees with the words of Ernst Thälmann that a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union is the touchstone of every true communist." This is shameless demagogy, because Ernst Thälmann and all the world's revolutionaries passionately defended the **socialist Soviet Union** against the slander and lies of reaction and imperialism. Millions of oppressed workers and peasants in all countries still have a positive attitude towards the former, socialist Soviet Union even today. That is precisely why they condemn the revisionist leaders, who have carried out a restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The revisionists of the DKP can have a positive attitude towards the state-monopoly system, towards the social-imperialism of the Soviet Union, if they want. We are certain that Ernst Thälmann would have vigorously condemned these revisionists. The touchstone of every revolutionary is his sincere and positive attitude towards the **socialist Soviet Union**. The touchstone of every revisionist is his obsequiousness towards the **revisionist, capitalist Soviet Union**. Here lies the difference.

The road which the Soviet communists, who have our fraternal solidarity, must take will be a long and thorny road. But we do not doubt for one minute that they, the Lenin-Stalin revolutionaries, will successfully accomplish their historic mission. Thus, we close our analysis of the "Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union" with the conclusion of the "Programmatic Appeal of the Revolutionary (Bolshevik) Communists of the Soviet Union":

> The communists of the Soviet Union are tasked with throwing down the opportunists, forming a revolutionary government, and taking the bureaucracy between this government and the people as

between hammer and anvil. We do not mean to liquidate all the bureaucrats. Not at all. Only those who openly resist the victory of democracy must be suppressed, mercilessly. The working class of the Soviet Union must put the bureaucracy in its place after seizing power, must force it to restore to the people, by its labors, all it has stolen from them, and to pay back by its deeds the knowledge and skills which it has acquired thanks to the people. The general political and economic leadership must be determined by the will of the people, in accordance with their convictions and demands. These policies will doubtlessly be revolutionary, communist, internationalist, so that the working people of the whole world will say: "This is our politics."

Long live our holy red banner, the banner of the socialist revolution, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

The opportunists can undertake whatever they may to sully this banner, and yet it remains unsullied. They can undertake whatever they may to drag it down to their level, and yet there are forces in the world who hold it up high. Honor and glory to them! The hour is not far when this banner will again wave over the fatherland of socialism.

Long live the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Let our friends and enemies throughout the world take note: Bolshevism rises again today in Russia like phoenix from its ashes.

We Bolsheviks know quite well how complicated our tasks are, but we will spare no pains and fear no sacrifice.

Lenin's ideas are with us,
Stalin's will is with us,
The great heart of our people is with us,
We are invincible!

(First published as REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 9, *Die Restauration des Kapitalismus in der Sowjetunion*, Part III, 1972.)

IV

Social-Imperialism — A New Type of State Monopoly Capitalism

1. The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union as a Negative Example

The XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. in February of 1956 was the starting point for changing the socialist society of the Soviet Union fundamentally. A stratum of petty bourgeois bureaucrats in the Party, in the state apparatus, and in the economy, which had existed for a long time, seized political power under Khrushchov to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and replace it by the anti-people dictatorship of a new class of exploiters.

The motivating force of the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats was their personal ambition for profit and power, which had caused great harm to the Soviet people even before the XXth Party Congress.

Their activities caused a number of difficulties to arise in agriculture and industry, which Malenkov had pointed out clearly in the report of the C.P.S.U. of October 5, 1952:

> Some functionaries of Party, Soviet and agricultural organs, instead of guarding the interests of the socially-owned sector of the collective farms, themselves engage in pilfering collective farm property, grossly violate Soviet law, act high-handedly and unlawfully towards collective farms. Abusing their positions, such functionaries convert socially-owned land to their own use, compel collective farm boards and chairpeople to provide them with grain, meat, milk and other products at little or no cost, to exchange poor-quality cattle owned by them for more valuable, highly productive cattle belonging to the collective farms, and so on. All these anti-collective-farm, anti-state acts cause serious harm to the collective farmers, hamper the

further organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms, and undermine the authority of the Party and the Soviet state. (Our translation from the German edition, page 77 - The Editors)

In industry, those elements were responsible for not achieving the aims of production set for important goods, and in light industry, in particular, for "a considerable amount of products of lesser quality."

Inside the Soviet Union, an intense struggle of the two lines developed. The question was whether the dictatorship of the proletariat would be preserved or replaced by the dictatorship of that stratum of petty-bourgeois bureaucrats which had settled inside the party, the state apparatus, and in the leadership of factories, of collective and state farms.

Stalin's death was the precondition for a relatively free growth of this bureaucracy. In 1956, it was strong enough to carry out a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat at the XXth Party Congress under Khrushchov, seize the leadership of the party and state apparatus and eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat imperceptibly. The communists all over the world heard about Khrushchov's secret speech only when it was published by the Western state-monopolistic countries, after the American secret service CIA had leaked it to the trade-unions and to the press.

To overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without revising Marxism-Leninism. The XXth Party Congress revised Marxism-Leninism on the questions of war and peace and the road to socialism, among others. It denied that monopoly capitalism must inevitably cause imperialist wars, that imperialist wars will disappear only after the complete overthrow of the monopoly-capitalist social system worldwide. It denied that the working class and the oppressed peoples can win their national and social liberation only by a violent revolution. Instead, the peaceful road to socialism by reforms and by winning the majority in parliament was preached.

Thus, Marxism-Leninism was robbed of its revolutionary spearhead. The Soviet Union was no longer the bulwark of revolution and the support of the working class and of the oppressed peoples in their liberation struggles.

The XXIInd Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. (October 1961) adopted

a complete revisionist system of ideas as the new programme. The heart of the new programme was the revision of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said in *The State and Revolution*: "The state is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms" (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 392).

This is also true of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dictatorship of the proletariat means suppression of the capitalist class by the working class with the help of state power.

To justify ideologically the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of a new bureaucrat class, the revisionists proclaimed the theory of the "state of the whole people" and included it in the C.P.S.U. programme.

They said the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union had "grown into" a "state of the whole people." The party of the working class, the C.P.S.U., had become a "party of the whole people."

The theory of the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the whole people" only serves to cover up the class rule of the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union. This is not new at all. The monopoly capitalists in the Western imperialist countries also claim that their state represents the interests of all the people. And their political agencies like SPD, CDU/CSU, and FDP in the Federal Republic of Germany (parties of monopoly capital - The Editors) claim that they, too, represent the interests of all the people, claim to be "people's parties." The tiny stratum of monopoly capitalists and their accomplices need such a lie to preserve their power.

The seizure of political power and the revision of Marxism-Leninism laid the foundations for a complete restoration of capitalism. The petty-bourgeois bureaucrats restored a new type of capitalism: bureaucratic monopoly capitalism, which is fused with the state machine.

The Replacement of the Basic Economic Law of Socialism by the Basic Economic Law of Capitalism

The basic economic law of socialism is based on the struggle of the

working class, guided by the communists, to ensure that the permanently growing material and cultural needs of the whole society are satisfied to a maximum degree. In this struggle, the Soviet Union, guided by the C.P.S.U. under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, had achieved significant success, despite the constant threat posed by the imperialist countries.

In 1939, the then dean of the University of Cambridge, Hewlett Johnson, published his book *The Socialist Sixth of the World.* He summarized some achievements of the socialist system in the following words:

> In the Soviet Union all factories, mines, railways and shipping, land and trading organizations, are the property of the people as a whole. The economic and social life of the country is planned in the public interest. Complete equality enables citizens, irrespective of their race or nationality, to participate in governing the State according to their ability. Complete equality of sexes, "equal pay for equal work," is a fundamental law. Equal opportunity for education is provided universally, the school-leaving age is in process of being raised to seventeen, and payment is made to students at universities. Work is provided for all; unemployment is non-existent; economic crises have ceased, prices steadily fall and wages rise. The maximum working day is eight hours, the average day under seven. All workers receive a paid holiday of at least two weeks a year. Free medical attention is provided for all: workers receive wages while sick, as though they were at work. Women receive a prolonged leave of absence with full pay when off work both before and after childbirth. (page 88)

At the same time as these successes were being achieved, the condition of the masses in the imperialist countries was deteriorating rapidly as a result of the world economic crisis.

After seizing power, the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats in the Soviet Union abolished the basic law of socialism step by step and replaced it by the basic law of capitalism, which is based on the struggle of the capitalist class for attaining maximum profits.

First, steps were taken to make concessions to the striving for personal gain by the bureaucrats in the factories and on the collective and state farms. This gave them far-reaching privileges. The prices

for the major farm products bought up by the state were raised, while the delivery targets were lowered. This way, the collective farms were able to make additional profits, which primarily benefitted the bureaucrats in the administration. In February of 1957, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dissolved several central industrial ministries. The factories and administrative bodies in the various regions were given a free hand to decide over production. The regional bureaucrats took advantage of this and regulated production in the interests of their personal profit. The results were disastrous. Even the "History of the C.P.S.U." published by the Soviet revisionists concedes this:

> The reorganization of industrial management had a few positive aspects. At the same time, more and more drawbacks appeared. The management of the various industries was split into numerous economic regions. The reorganization destroyed economic ties which had grown between factories of the different economic regions. It caused some redundancy of technological development efforts and, on the side of the functionaries, gave rise to a sectionalism harmful to the national interests. (*Geschichte der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion* [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], third amended edition, Frankfurt 1971)

This had consequences for the supply of goods to the population. Heavy waste of raw material, low quality of products, stagnating introduction of new technological methods — these were results of the restoration of capitalism.

Just as before, the fulfillment of the plan's targets and the allocation of funds to the factories were measured according to the quantity of the goods produced (usually in tons). Since the managers were mainly interested in high bonuses for achieving the targets, the consequence was poor product quality and waste of raw material.

These phenomena exist until today. Sometimes the revisionist press, too, reports about them, for example *Pravda* of June 6, 1974:

> Today, the most important yardstick for the work done by construction firms is volume. The hunt for big volume means they are mainly anxious to put up walls and structures of reinforced concrete and metal which are profitable for them. Much material is needed for

this kind of work usually, but little manpower. So the wage fund is in good shape, and there is a real chance for a quarterly bonus.

So, at the beginning of the year, the shells of buildings sprout rapidly like mushrooms after a rain. Less important is furnishing and giving them over to use. In other words: under such circumstances, it is most important for the construction people to use up as much material as possible, not to strive to complete the project within the specified time....

The consequences for the supply of the people with important consumer goods are particularly serious. Poor quality and irregular supply cause such discontent among the people that even the revisionist leaders of the C.P.S.U. cannot help but admit these evils. In their reports to the party congresses of the C.P.S.U., they criticize these evils pretty regularly.

Pravda of March 23, 1974 gives the following example:

The most reliable criterion for the planning of products and the assortment of goods should be the demand of the people. The letters to *Pravda* testify, however, that this is not yet being studied and taken into account sufficiently. A part of the enterprises produce goods of antiquated style and color, which, moreover, are manufactured with poor quality. For exactly this reason, at the inter-republic trade fairs last year, the trade organizations did not buy garments worth hundreds of millions of rubles from industry, and many unsold shoes piled up in the stores.

In the regions of the national minorities, things should be looking even worse. It follows from a report of *Erevan Communist* of June 1, 1974, to the 13th congress of the Armenian consumer cooperatives that, from 1970 to 1974, "38 percent of manufactured garments and 37 percent of knitwear received by the Armenian association of consumer cooperatives showed defects and were sent back to the suppliers." In his book, Yefimov clearly attributes such phenomena to management's striving for as big a profit as possible. He writes:

Experience teaches us, however, that in some cases those factories which produce antiquated and inferior goods are economically better off than those which constantly add new products to their production program. Data obtained by random samples in several factories show

that the profitability of a factory goes down when it expands the share of new products in relation to the total production. (A. N. Yefimov, Director of the Economic Research Institute of the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R.: *Die Industrie der UdSSR* [The Industry of the U.S.S.R.], East Berlin, 1969, p. 245)

Apart from poor quality of goods, there was particularly grave waste of material during the rule of Khrushchov. This was due to the fact that production targets for many products were considered to be achieved or surpassed when a certain amount of material had been expended or produced. The more material wasted, the sooner the target was achieved, and the more bonuses the managers received. Khrushchov had promised in 1956 to catch up with the production volume of the monopoly capitalist U.S.A. Eleven years later, the Director of the Economic Research Institute of the State Planning Committee came to totally different results:

In the Soviet Union, 600 tons of rolled steel are needed to make mechanical engineering products worth one million rubles; in the U.S.A., only 340 tons. In the Soviet Union, each truck of a transport fleet requires four sets of tires on the average; in the U.S.A., merely one, but of much better quality.

From the same amount of starting material, Soviet industry produces far less products. From the same quantity of timber, we produce far less than in the U.S.A.: seven times less veneer, eight times less cellulose, 5.5 times less paper, and seven times less cardboard. (*ibid.*, pp. 202/203)

Because of this situation, the Soviet leaders felt compelled to carry out a reform of the economy and to push ahead the **restoration of capitalism**. Khrushchov was ousted. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., now under the leadership of Brezhnev and Kosygin, adopted "New Methods of Economic Management" on September 29, 1965. The gist of the reform was that maximum profit now definitely was established as the decisive criterion for the management of the economy.

The entire system of planning, production management and material incentives must be directed towards ensuring a high rate of development of social production and increasing its efficiency. A most

> important condition for achieving these aims is to see that the personnel of enterprises have an interest in setting higher plan targets, making better use of productive funds, labor, material and financial resources, perfecting technology, labor organization, and improving economic indices of production. (Decision of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee of September 29, 1965)

In order to achieve this, it would be necessary to "make better use of such key economic levers as profit, price, bonus, and credit."

Later on, the planning indices were reformed. **Instead of gross output**, the **volume of output actually sold** was taken as an index. This was to prevent factories producing only the goods most profitable for them, which then, later on, cannot be sold and only fill the storehouses. The monopolies of the Western state-monopolistic countries, too, are not mainly interested in the quantity of products, but in the quantity of products sold. Only when a commodity is sold do the capitalists make profit.

This sales orientation might be interpreted as meaning that the Soviet economy adapts itself to the true needs of the people more than in the past. Actually, the plant managers do not think at all of the needs of the masses to improve the quality of the goods and to manufacture new products — unless this promises higher profit. Lately, they have begun to approve higher prices when quality is improved. Often, however, this is a price increase in disguise, which makes it possible to increase the profit by means of a monopoly price.

This is possible because, in the Soviet Union, competition on the domestic market is far more restricted than in the Western capitalist countries. Therefore, a tendency to stagnation and decay is much more evident there.

In 1965, profit became the decisive criterion for achievement of targets on the basis of sold production. That portion of the surplus value produced by the working people that remains in the factories, to be distributed there, depends on the amount of profit. The managers of the factories strive to enlarge that portion, if possible.

The revisionists make no bones about the fact that pursuit of maximum profit is the force driving them:

> The goal of economic activity is the **net profit which remains in the enterprise.** Its value expresses the net product obtained in the enterprise, in excess of what is due the social owners employed in the enterprise for their work, and what is due society. Directing the interest of the enterprise towards the requirements of society, therefore, means developing the enterprises's interest in a large increase in net profit as its particular operating interest. (Ruth Walter, lecturer at the chair of "Political Economy of Socialism" at the SED Central Committee's "Karl Marx" College: *Interessen im ökonomischen System* ["Interests in the Economic System"], Berlin, 1970, p. 145)

The revisionists always keep pointing out that there is no private ownership of the means of production in the Soviet Union, and they conclude that there consequently can be no exploitation. This conclusion is wrong.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, too, there is no individual who could claim to be the owner of the state-owned Salzgitter AG. Nevertheless, people are exploited there with the aim to obtain maximum profit. However, the most important means of production in Germany today are controlled by very few monopoly capitalists, who have completely subordinated the state machine.

The form is different in the Soviet Union. There, the bureaucrats in the party, the economy and the state control the most important means of production, the banks, trade organizations and means of transport. Economic and political power are not separate as they seem to be in the Western state-monopolistic countries. Both, economic and political power, are in the hands of the leading party and government bureaucrats. They directly control the means of production as well as the state apparatus.

The party, state and economic bureaucracy can actually regard itself as the collective owner of the means of production, and it claims for itself a corresponding share of the profit. The dividend does not depend on how much stock one owns, but on one's position in the party and state bureaucracy. To be a member of the C.P.S.U. is a fundamental condition to enter the circle of owners of the means of production. Everything else depends on how far one rises in party and state apparatus (career).

Such a career certainly is no smooth road, considering how unscrupulous the bureaucrats are, and involves all kinds of rivalry and struggles for power. The competition and the struggles for power, which, in the Western state-monopolistic countries, take place between the monopolies and between groups of monopolies, work in the Soviet Union inside the C.P.S.U.

In the Soviet Union, the profit derived from the labor of the working people is divided up between the managers of the factories on the one hand and the party and state bureaucrats on the other. The latter appoint the managers and can dismiss them.

The enterprises are obliged to pay a fixed percentage of the value of the means of production as a production fund tax to the state. "The production fund tax changes the gratuitous character of the production fund advance," says the *Wörterbuch der Ökonomie, Sozialismus* ("Dictionary of Economy, Socialism," second edition, Berlin 1969, page 642). The party and state bureaucrats regard the means of production as their property, so to speak, which they have advanced to the factories. Therefore, they are interested in the constant expansion of the means of production (basic production fund), since this increases their profit. Here lies the motive force for the expansion and modernization of production in bureaucratic state monopoly capitalism.

In 1950, in the German Democratic Republic, about 30 percent of surplus value (accumulation fund) was used for investments to extend the basic production fund, 35 percent to extend the basic non-production fund (health care, cultural institutions, social care). In 1967, only 28 percent of the accumulation fund was used for the latter, while 56 percent was used for the extension of the basic production fund (*ibid.*, p. 24).

Karl Marx wrote in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* about the development of the basic non-production fund in socialism:

> *Secondly, that which is intended for the common satisfactions of needs,* such as schools, health services, etc. From the outset this part grows considerably in comparison with present-day society and it grows in proportion as the new society develops. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 17)

It has been just the opposite since the abolition of socialism and the establishment of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism, owing to the pursuit of maximum profit.

The Socialist Law of Labor Productivity is Replaced by its Capitalist Counterpart

In the course of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the socialist principle of the productivity of labor was abolished step by step, and the capitalist law of the productivity of labor was introduced. The motive force was the attaining of maximum profit by means of raising the productivity of labor. Systematically, the socialist consciousness of the masses was undermined by material incentives and various forms of pressure applied on the working people, in order to force a rise in labor productivity.

At the XXIVth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. (1971), Kosygin reported that from 1965 to 1970 more than one fourth of the growth of the average wages of factory and office workers was covered by the stimulation fund, i.e., the profits of the factories. Linking wages and salaries to the profit of the factory is supposed to create an interest on the part of factory and office workers in achieving a maximum profit for the enterprise. (Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan, Moscow, 1971)

The magazine *Sowjetunion heute* wrote about the Dynamo electrical engineering works in Moscow on April 16, 1975. Between 1971 and 1975, **labor productivity** there was increased **by 37.3 percent**. Two thirds of this rise was achieved by plant modernization, another third by raising the intensity of labor. **Profit rose by 170 percent.**

Because of this rise in profit, bonuses are distributed for the individual work achievement of each person, for the production results of the departments in each quarter, and for the annual result of the factory.

The amount of these bonuses cannot be compared, however, with the rise in profit, as the following example from the aluminum plant in Bogoslovsk shows:

In 1967 alone, an additional profit of 360, 000 rubles was achieved

in the electrolysis department by surpassing the targets for the production of highest-quality metal. In turn, the workers received a bonus of 32 270 rubles. (Vasili Dzhelomanov, *Mitbestimmung der Werktätigen der Sowjetunion in der Produktion* ["Codetermination in Production by the Working People in the Soviet Union"], Moscow, 1971, p. 21)

The exploitation of the working people in the Soviet Union is constantly intensified. According to Kosygin at the XXVth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1976, the average earnings in the Soviet Union from 1971 to 1975 rose by 20 percent. By then, however, already three quarters of the increase was attributed to bonuses.

This course will be continued. "The Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1976-1980" demand the "wider application of progressive forms of material incentives for production increases with fewer workers."

By rationalization, increased intensity of labor and concentration, the productivity of labor is to be increased considerably. Table 8 provides an overview.

These figures from the current five-year plan show that the new class of bureaucrats, as a new type bourgeoisie, is now waging a large-scale offensive of rationalization aimed at higher profits. In most branches of industry and in agriculture, the increase in production is to be achieved exclusively by increasing labor productivity. The targets of the plan mean "saving the labor of 26 million workers" (Kosygin's report to the XXVth Party Congress). If these aims can actually be carried out, then all those workers will hardly be able to find new jobs. Chronic unemployment will follow.

The magazine *Neue Zeit* No. 5, 1977, confirms this. It reports:

The CMEA countries regard it as the second method to solve the problem: by changing the relationship between investing in the construction of new factories and modernizing existing factories, favoring modernization and reconstruction. In this case the expansion of production does not result in an increase of the number of employees. The third possibility is a more efficient use of labor power by perfecting the working conditions and the organization of labor as well as the use of more efficient systems of material and moral incentives.

TABLE 8

Targets of growth rates in industry and agriculture of the Soviet Union according to the Five Year Plan 1976 - 1980
(b = Editors' own calculations)

Industry	Planned increase in production (in percent)	Planned increase in labor productivity (in percent)	Part of production increment accounted for by increase of labor productivity (in percent)
Entire industry	35 - 39	30 - 34	90
Electricity	29 - 33	27 - 29	82 - 100 b
Mineral oil	26 - 30	28 - 30	100 b
Oil refining	25 - 30	39 - 41	100 b
Gas	38 - 50	43 - 45	86 - 100 b
Coal	13 - 16	22 - 24	100 b
Iron and steel	13 - 20	23 - 25	100 b
Non-ferrous metals	20 - 30	23 - 25	77 - 100 b
Chemical and petrochemical	60 - 65	59 - 61	91 - 100 b
Mechanical engineering and metalworking	50 - 60	50	83 - 100 b
Forestry and timber processing	22 - 25	25 - 27	100 b
Paper and cellulose	22 - 25	23 - 25	92 - 100 b
Light industry	26 - 28	23 - 25	82 - 96 b
Food	23 - 25	24 - 26	100 b
Construction material	30	24 - 26	80 - 87 b
Investment in Construction	24 - 26	29 - 32	100
Agriculture	14 - 17	27 - 30	100

The "third possibility" points to an increase in the intensity of labor, which is closely connected to rationalization. According to the information Brezhnev gave at the XXVth Party Congress, 84 percent of the increase in production between 1970 and 1975 was due to an increase of labor productivity. 60 percent of the increase in production was "obtained through the modernization and expansion of existing enterprises and also through organizational and technical measures," which means by rationalization (Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the Soviet Union for 1976 to 1980). Accordingly, 24 percent of the increase in production was due to an increase in the intensity of labor.

The "method of Shchekino" is to be carried out all over the country in order to increase the intensity of labor. What this method stands for is reported by the magazine *Sowjetwissenschaft* No. 6, 1974, page 600:

> In factories of various branches, the method of Shchekino brought about a considerable increase in labor productivity, a redundancy of a large number of factory and office workers, and a better distribution and more effective planning of the labor force. A typical example: from 1970 to 1972, after the introduction of the Shchekino system in the motor vehicle department of the Kirov city transport administration, the standard manpower requirements were reduced by 736, labor productivity increased by 12.4 percent, and transport performance rose 27 percent. There were savings of 388 000 rubles in the wage fund, and profits rose by almost 20 percent. The acute shortage of labor prior to the introduction of the Shchekino system has disappeared. The general manager of the association, V. Sonov, remarked: "Earlier, there had been a shortage of drivers, fitters, lathe-operators, mechanics, and cleaning personnel. Now, after a year and a half of working with the Shchekino method, we have come to the conclusion that the labor shortage was mostly of an artificial nature. After we became authorized to pay higher wages to a worker for partly taking over the duties of his neighbor, we opened up a new source of manpower as it were." As it turned out, there was no lack of workers, but a lack of organization of production, of the right use of economic levers.

Fact is, the Soviet working people need the bonuses to live. This is

taken advantage of by deliberately using the bonuses to raise labor intensity.

The Chairman of the State Committee of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, A. Volkov, reported in *Pravda* of April 10, 1974 about the methods which are used. The management has the opportunity to fix an extra pay and bonuses from the sum of wages that were saved by means of increased labor intensity. At the same time, it threatens to cut or lower the bonuses in order to effect an increase in labor intensity. Volkov gives examples of both methods:

> Practical experience confirms that good results are achieved when the wage fund, which is created by layoffs of workers, is skillfully used to fulfill the tasks with a smaller staff than planned. For instance, 300 workers were laid off in a short period of time in the "Nickel" federation after the operator zones were enlarged and other measures were taken. However, many factories make little use of the right which has been given to them to grant extra pay and bonuses in return for doing a larger scope of work than has been fixed in the norms. With the introduction of new wages and salaries, bonuses grow more important as intensifying factors which encourage people to develop production. For example, bonuses were given to women workers at the Karpinski spinning mill only on the condition they extend their operating field. Together with improved technology and labor organization in the factory as a whole, this helped to increase the number of spindles attended by one worker to above the industry average.

There are various measures which management can apply to increase the pressure on the workers. In an article in *Pravda*, June 2, 1974, the secretary of the Novosibirsk district party committee, M. Alforov, writes about several of those measures. The managers can decide to punish the workers in the following ways:

- suspension of right to material aid for two years,
- refusal of admission to a sanatorium or holiday home,
- suspension of the right to buy merchandise on credit,
- deletion from the waiting list for a new home.

"Undoubtedly, many of these measures are justified. Which of the above-mentioned and other guidelines bring the best results? Experience shows: when society itself becomes active, to carry out the

whole potential range of measures is most effective," Alforov adds.

He also suggests changing the labor laws,

> to scale pensions in accordance with people's attitude to work; to enhance the significance of the work book and of the encouraging assessments and reports entered in them.

Together with rationalization and increasing labor intensity, there are also great efforts to concentrate production. During the past years, the trend grew to form large industrial associations by joining individual factories. In 1976, there were 2,300 such associations accounting for 24 percent of industrial output (Kosygin, Speech at the XXVth Party Congress). Their number and share of production will increase further.

Through these measures, monopoly-like enterprises (trusts) are created which, to a certain extent, completely dominate production and market for particular products. The formation of such huge industrial associations is closely linked to accomplishing the mechanization and automation of production.

The economy of the Soviet Union is still trailing behind the technology of the Western imperialist countries, despite all endeavors to catch up with the private capitalist economies. Since the Soviet Union particularly favored the building of heavy industry, it should have the most modern development in this sector. Therefore, we take steel production as an example. (See Table 9 on following page.)

In 1975, in the Federal Republic of Germany, 69.3 percent of raw steel was produced by the oxygen process, 16.7 percent by the open-hearth process. In Japan, where they have the most modern steel mills worldwide, the figures are 82.5 percent and 1.1 percent respectively.

The bureaucrats of the Soviet Union need gigantic sums of capital for the modernization of their production equipment, especially for mechanization and automation. To concentrate production in industrial and economic associations is one of the most important measures to get these amounts of capital.

At the same time, this concentration process is closely linked to the export of capital and the exploitation of the other CMEA countries as

TABLE 9

Steel production: shares of old open-hearth process and new oxygen process (1975)

	Open-hearth process		Oxygen process		Total
	in 1,000 t	in %	in 1,000 t	in %	in 1,000 t
U.S.S.R.	91,480	64.7	34,798	24.6	141,325
Poland	9,992	66.6	3,356	22.4	15,007
Romania	4,768	49.9	3,368	35.3	9,550
Hungary	3,336	90.9	—	—	3,671
Bulgaria	516	22.8	1,267	55.9	2,267

Source: *Eisen und Stahl* ("Iron and Steel"), published by German Federal Statistical Office, third quarter issue 1977.

well as some developing countries. "The economic and technical process is demanding a concentration of capital manifesting more and more international features," the magazine *Wirtschaftswissenschaft* ("Economics") wrote in its issue No. 7, 1972, page 1017.

We shall come back to the details of this process later. What we want to point out here is the following: to intensify exploitation, bureaucratic monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union takes the same measures as monopoly capitalism in the Western imperialist countries. Like causes have like effects. Chronic unemployment and the outbreak of an economic crisis are equally inevitable here as there. They will happen at a time when the latent underconsumption of today, which is caused by insufficient production, is replaced by overproduction in conjunction with insufficient purchasing power of the masses.

It is false when the revisionists claim that workers in the Soviet Union or another of the revisionist countries have secure jobs. For instance, a worker in the German Democratic Republic can be dismissed with two weeks notice if "it is necessary because of a change

of production, of structure, or of staffing or manpower planning" (*Wörterbuch der Ökonomie, Sozialismus*, second edition, Berlin 1969, page 471). The plant union leadership has to agree to the dismissal, but it can do nothing if the legal conditions are met.

There is no difference whatsoever to the right to terminate an employment contract in the Federal Republic of Germany. On the contrary. In the Soviet Union today, the working class is struggling under harder conditions than in the Western monopoly capitalist countries, since it is not even granted the few bourgeois-democratic rights. The trade union apparatus is firmly in the hands of the bureaucrats. There is practically no freedom of association and no right to strike.

The penal code of December 25, 1958, was created by the new capitalist class of the Soviet Union as an instrument to protect its rule. Any kind of criticism directed at it is accordingly considered to be "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and is counted among the "particularly severe criminal offenses against the state." This means there is no freedom of speech and freedom of the press for the Soviet working class. On the other hand, the tenth chapter of the penal code contains the vague "statutory definition of the offense of hooliganism," which might include anything from strikes to protest demonstrations.

From time to time, the new bourgeoisie merely allows some bourgeois intellectuals who are interested in achieving certain civil rights and freedoms to voice their opinions abroad. Since these usually range from bourgeois liberals to reactionary defenders of czarism, they pose no serious danger to the bureaucrats.

The bureaucrats take very vigorous action against the working class and its struggle, as proved by the use of weapons against striking Polish workers and the sentences that were passed against some of them. If possible, nothing should penetrate to the outside world about these struggles because this would immediately destroy the revisionists' carefully fostered image of an orderly and settled life.

For this reason, the state tries to set up a far-flung network of informers in the factories to nip self-organized strikes of the workers in the bud. Igor Karpets, head of the criminal investigation depart-

ment of the interior ministry of the U.S.S.R., gave an interview to the magazine *Sowjetunion heute*, March 16, 1975, about the work of the militia:

> [Question:] Could you tell us more about the traditional and the more current methods of crime prevention in the work of the militia?
>
> [Answer:] Usually this work begins at the place where the persons live who have come into focus of the militia. It is self-evident that this is not completely up to the militia alone; this would violate the law. The militia keeps an eye on persons, by order of the authorities and in compliance with the law, who have been sentenced for a severe crime in the past. But if somebody proves by his attitude towards work, towards his family, and the rules of social life that he realizes how reprehensible his former behavior was, then the supervision ordered by the authorities is cancelled after the legally fixed period.
>
> The militia, of course, keeps an eye on those persons, too, who disturb public order, or who are too much addicted to alcohol. The militia — particularly the members of the criminal investigation department and the militia's authorized district personnel — can count on the support of the people when carrying out such prophylactic measures. In the various residential districts of the cities centers are created for this kind of prophylactic work, where the militia, voluntary helpers of the militia, representatives of the disciplinary tribunals and other social organizations and institutions can coordinate their activities. The deputies of the local soviets in the respective districts take part in these diverse activities, too.

These prophylactic, that is, preventive, measures of the militia include preventive custody.

> To limit our work to arresting lawbreakers only after they have done society harm would be out of touch with reality and out of keeping with the demands of our time.

Particularly youngsters are to be recruited for this large-scale spying system in the neighborhoods and factories. It is evident from what Karpets said how closely the bureaucrats in party, state and economy work together:

> Today, many young people from factories and other institutions are in the militia because they were recommended by social organiza-

> tions. It goes without saying that only those young people are recommended who themselves wish to be in the militia and who, in the opinion of the collectives, will justify the trust put in them. For instance, someone who was recommended to the militia by the staff of the factory where he works has to give regular account of himself to those who recommended him.

The working class in the Soviet Union is in antagonistic contradiction to a class which has set up its rule over the entire society. Because it is robbed of even the smallest proletarian-democratic rights, it is difficult for the working class to lead a new struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It has to build a new revolutionary communist party under conditions of illegality, conditions far more complicated than at the time of czarism, because the new bourgeoisie disguises itself with Marxist-Leninist rhetoric.

Various events demonstrate, however, that the working class in the revisionist countries is rebelling. Particularly the heroic struggle of the Polish workers, but also the struggle of the people of Czechoslovakia against the attack by the social-imperialists in 1968 show the revolutionary potential of the working class in the countries which are under the rule of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism.

The struggles of the working class in these countries must be waged with extraordinary intensity, since every struggle for economic demands almost automatically assumes a political character because it is directed straight at the party and state bureaucracy. The bureaucracy reacts sternly and is quick to bring in the military. This is why it may take a long time before the working class in the Soviet Union is able to organize mass struggles on a large scale. But it will recognize that there is only one basic way out: the overthrow of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism by force and the reestablishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

2. Social-Imperialism as a New Type of State Monopoly Capitalism

In the Soviet Union, the new bourgeoisie concentrated immense economic and political power in its hands. It is compelled by pursuit of maximum profit to imperialist expansion and enters into fiercest rivalry with the Western imperialists, above all the U.S. imperialists.

The policy of the social-imperialists is characterized, on the one hand, by their demagogic rhetoric of "struggle against imperialism" and "proletarian internationalism," by their masking themselves as "Marxist-Leninists." On the other hand, they carry out a neocolonial policy in countries which they have forced into dependence. This is a policy of complete subordination of the economy and the whole society of other countries to the interests of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism.

Social-Imperialism and the Peoples' Right to Self-Determination

Slogans like "international division of labor" and "socialist community of states" describe the economic and political subjugation of the East European CMEA countries, of Cuba, Mongolia, and of some developing countries by the social-imperialists.

At the XXVth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., Brezhnev termed the neocolonialism of Soviet social-imperialism "an objective law."

> The ties between socialist states are becoming ever closer with the flourishing of each socialist nation and the strengthening of their sovereignty, and elements of community are increasing in their policy, economy and social life. There is a gradual levelling up of their development. This process of a gradual drawing together of socialist countries is now operating quite definitely as an objective law.

In fact, it is a law of imperialism, not of socialism.

In 1916, Lenin commented in detail on the right of self-determination under socialism during a controversy which he had with Polish social democrats.

> We have affirmed that it would be a betrayal of socialism to refuse to implement the self-determination of nations under socialism. We

are told in reply that "the right of self-determination is not applicable to a socialist society." The difference is a radical one. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 321)

Lenin then explained what the basic difference of opinion was:

It is *impossible* to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism, since this *requires* the abolition of classes, i.e., the introduction of socialism. But while being based on economics, socialism cannot be reduced to economics alone. A foundation — socialist production — is essential for the abolition of national oppression, but this foundation must *also* carry a democratically organized state, a democratic army, etc. By transforming capitalism into socialism the proletariat creates the *possibility* of abolishing national oppression; the possibility becomes *reality* "only" — "only"! — with the establishment of full democracy in all spheres, including the delineation of state frontiers in accordance with the "sympathies" of the population, including complete freedom to secede. And this, in turn, will serve as a basis for developing the *practical* elimination of even the slightest national friction and the least national mistrust, for an accelerated drawing together and fusion of nations that will be completed when the state *withers away*. This is the Marxist theory, the theory from which our Polish colleagues have mistakenly departed. (*ibid.*, p. 325)

The road to a fusion and a withering away of nations is a process which is linked to the withering away of the state. It goes through the stage of complete recognition of national self-determination, which is manifested concretely in the right to secede from a federation of states. The U.S.S.R. was founded on this basis. The right to self-determination of the nations joined in the U.S.S.R. was embodied in the constitution adopted under Stalin. Each nation had the right to declare its withdrawal from the U.S.S.R. and to set up a state of its own. This right is no longer included in the new constitution of 1977, although — or rather because — there is a stronger call for national independence in the various republics of the U.S.S.R. under the current conditions of intensified oppression of national minorities by bureaucratic monopoly capitalism.

In 1949, also on the basis of Lenin's principles, the Council for

Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was founded, with each state having the right to leave the CMEA at any time, and no decisions being possible against the will of any state, however small. Today, there is no longer a right to self-determination for the CMEA states. Upon invading Czechoslovakia, Brezhnev proclaimed the theory of "limited sovereignty."

The modern revisionists not only abandoned Marxism-Leninism, they even have no qualms about directly falsifying Lenin in order to cover up their neocolonial plundering of the CMEA countries.

In a book published by the Institute for Social Studies run by the SED Central Committee, entitled *Die Arbeiterklasse der sozialistischen Gemeinschaft in den siebziger Jahren* ("The Working Class in the Socialist Community during the Seventies," Berlin, 1976), they make a try with the following piecemeal quotation from Lenin:

> In 1916, Lenin wrote in his article "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up": "Under socialism the working people themselves will nowhere consent to seclusion ..., [and] the variety of political forms ... and experience in state organization — ... all this ... will be the basis of a prosperous cultured life and an earnest that the nations will draw closer together ... at an ever faster pace." (p. 142)

We counter this with the complete quotation from Lenin and only put emphasis on those phrases which the revisionists quoted.

> The masses of working people, as they liberate themselves from the bourgeois yoke, will gravitate irresistibly towards union and integration with the great, advanced socialist nations for the sake of that "cultural aid," provided yesterday's oppressors do not infringe on the long-oppressed nations' highly developed democratic feeling of self-respect, and provided they are granted equality in everything, including state construction, that is, experience in organizing "their own" state. Under capitalism this "experience" means war, isolation, seclusion, and the narrow egoism of the small privileged nations (Holland, Switzerland). **Under socialism the working people themselves will nowhere consent to seclusion** merely for the above-mentioned purely economic motives, while **the variety of political forms**, freedom to secede, **and experience in state organization** — there will be **all this** until the state in all its forms withers away — **will be the ba-**

sis of a prosperous cultured life and an earnest that the nations will draw closer together and integrate **at an ever faster pace.** (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 339)

This method of falsifying Lenin was designed to hide the fact that the CMEA countries were robbed of their sovereignty and had been made new colonies of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism, economically and politically. What does this neocolonial policy look like in fact?

The Neocolonialism of Social-Imperialism

When we take a look at the foreign trade of the smaller CMEA countries with the Soviet Union, the first thing we notice is that all of them depend on extensive supplies of raw materials from the Soviet Union. The demand of the German Democratic Republic for the following products is met by imports from the U.S.S.R.: "mineral oil and iron ore, 90 percent; rolled steel, 40 percent; zinc, 70 percent; primary aluminum and lead, 60 percent; lumber, 40 percent; and cotton, 85 percent." (Gertrud Gräbig/Ingrid Hoell, "Eine neue Qualität in den Aussenwirtschaftsbeziehungen der DDR und der UdSSR" ["A new quality of foreign trade relations between the G.D.R. and the U.S.S.R."], in: *Wirtschaftswissenschaft* No. 1, 1972, p. 6)

In other CMEA countries, things are much the same. The U.S.S.R almost completely supplies their needs for petroleum, natural gas and iron. Only Romania was able to maintain a more favorable position. Even Cuba receives its supply of oil and oil products almost exclusively from the Soviet Union. 7 million tons were delivered there in 1973. This position enables the Soviet Union to make maximum profit by demanding excessive prices.

The CMEA countries have no choice but to give in to the dictates of the social-imperialists. They lack the foreign exchange to buy their supplies on other markets at lower prices.

Until 1975, foreign trade prices in the CMEA were to be fixed for five-year periods on the basis of the development of the world market prices for the respective products, and were not to change during those periods. But things were very different in practice even then.

The actual prices were fixed each time in bilateral foreign trade contracts. A Soviet investigation of these prices, which are not made public for good reason, comes to the conclusion that the contract prices in reality have nothing to do with the prices fixed by the CMEA.

> The world market prices were unable to exercise their "right" to be the basis of contract prices for a very large number of goods traded between the U.S.S.R. and other CMEA countries, because the specific conditions of development of socialist foreign trade had a stronger influence. Instead, the industrial wholesale prices of the U.S.S.R. were able to become generally accepted as a basis for the contract prices of a considerable number of goods. And finally, it was found that the contract prices have no exactly defined value basis whatsoever for the overwhelming mass of merchandise.
> (N. Mitrofanova, "Perspektiven der weiteren Vervollkommnung der Aussenhandelspreise sozialistischer Länder" ["Perspectives of perfecting further the foreign trade prices of socialist countries"], in: *Sowjetwissenschaft — Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge* No. 10, 1974, p. 1967)

This means that the contract prices in fact are arbitrarily dictated by the social-imperialists. These monopoly prices are only limited by the ability of the smaller CMEA countries to pay them.

Since 1975, a new arrangement applies in the CMEA, according to which the foreign trade prices are fixed each year anew on the basis of the development of the world market prices during the past five years. This removed one obstacle to the social-imperialists for demanding from the CMEA countries the higher prices for oil and gas which the OPEC countries and the multinational Western oil corporations had set in 1973/74. The consequences for the CMEA countries were disastrous. Table 10 shows the income which the Soviet Union received from exports of raw materials from 1971 to 1975:

TABLE 10
Soviet Export of Raw Materials 1971 - 1975
(in billions of rubles)

Year	Total	of which to: CMEA countries	other socialist countries	capitalist industrial countries	developing countries
1971	9.7	5.2	0.9	2.2	1.4
1972	9.8	5.5	0.5	2.2	1.6
1973	12.4	5.9	0.6	3.4	2.5
1974	16.5	7.1	0.8	5.7	2.9
1975	19.4	10.1	1.0	5.5	2.8

Source: K. Bakhtov, head of the U.S.S.R. foreign trade ministry's central office for the export of raw materials; V. Soloyev, "U.S.S.R. Raw Material Exports in the Present Stage," in: *Aussenhandel*, monthly of the foreign trade ministry of the U.S.S.R., No. 2, 1977, p. 14

This means a rise of revenue from raw material exports to CMEA countries, from 1973 to 1975, by 71.7 percent. This rise is mainly due to price increases.

The Hungarian press reported that in 1975 the "level of prices of socialist imports was 20 percent higher than the year before" (Béla Szikszay, "Eletszinvonalpolitika és árpolitika" ["Standard of living policy and price policy"], in: *Társadalmi Szemle*, No. 2, 1976). The damage that was done by price manipulations "amounted to 8 percent of the gross national product in 1975" (István Dobos, "Gazdasági fejlödésünk fö feladatai" ["The central tasks of our economic development"], in: *Pénzügyi Szemle*, No. 2/1976).

In the years 1971 and 1972, the German Democratic Republic still had a trade surplus of 400.4 and 1,079.8 million exchange Marks (calculated on the basis of foreign currencies). From 1973 to 1976, it had to swallow continuously rising trade deficits, to the extent of

1,158.9 million exchange Marks in 1973, 3,126.3 million in 1974, 4,184.4 million in 1975, until finally the deficit rose to 6,385.5 million Marks in 1976. (Source: *Statistisches Taschenbuch der DDR 1977* [Statistical Yearbook of the G.D.R. 1977], p. 105 - published by the state central statistics office)

This spelled a complete change in the economic situation of the G.D.R., accompanied by growing indebtedness particularly to the Soviet social-imperialists. The figures of the four years add up to an import surplus of 14,855 million Marks, a sum equal to 37.6 percent of total exports in 1976. This large excess of imports is particularly burdensome because 32 percent of total imports come from Western industrial countries and serve to stop the gap in supply above all of high-tech industrial products.

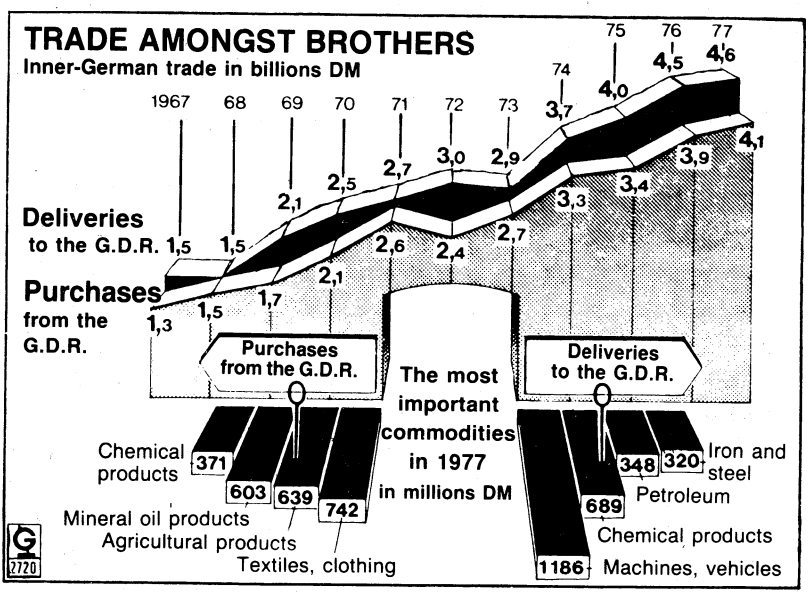
In this connection a report of the British *Financial Times* of 21 February 1978 from East Berlin is interesting. It characterizes the dilemma of the G.D.R. leadership. According to the report, Erich Honecker, who, like Walter Ulbricht, would be highly unlikely to risk openly opposing the Soviet Union, told SED functionaries:

> No one has the right to cease production of G.D.R. products before the products which we have to import have been examined and tested in our country and before the commercial import agreement and the planned deliveries have been guaranteed. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

He further said that G.D.R. economic experts had warned the leaders of the dangers of limiting the range of products manufactured. Under the CMEA specialization and cooperation programme, however, the G.D.R. had discontinued production of a large number of products, which were now being produced in the less advanced CMEA countries, or not at all. In 1960 the G.D.R. produced 36 percent of the machines traded within the CMEA, while now the figure was closer to 20 percent. This trend had reached a critical point because, Honecker said, the G.D.R. could compensate its unfavorable balance of trade with the Soviet Union only by exporting high-quality industrial products. The metalworking industry should be producing sophisticated final products, including complete systems, on

the basis of the CMEA programme, because this is essential for "securing imports of raw materials from the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries." "At the same time they are of supreme importance for G.D.R. exports to the non-socialist world." So things must be in a bad way if Honecker starts balking (even if he does it in a subdued tone). For years the balance of G.D.R. trade with the F.R.G. has also been characterized by uninterrupted import surpluses. The urgently needed foreign exchange for purchase of machines, vehicles and chemical products from the F.R.G. (see Figure 1) is supplemented by revenue from transit traffic (highways, railways, river shipping) and other sources. But this is not possible in trade with other Western countries. Hard currency is necessary here, without any means of squaring the balance of payments.

Figure 1
Trade between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R.



As the capitalist restoration in the G.D.R. consolidates further, the desire for cooperation with Western monopoly capitalists in joint

exploitation of developing countries becomes pressing. *Frankfurter Rundschau* of March 14, 1978, reports:

> The Essen Krupp steel group has concluded the first German-German cooperation agreement in a third country with the G.D.R. As a Krupp speaker in Leipzig told us, it is planned to build a cotton-spinning mill in Ethiopia in cooperation with G.D.R. companies. The G.D.R. will supply parts of the plant and machines.

The revisionist leaders in the smaller CMEA countries try to make the people pay the consequences of the plundering by the Soviet social-imperialists. This led in Poland in 1976 to widespread worker struggles against price increases for vital goods.

The Soviet Union takes advantage in other ways of the dependence of the CMEA countries on raw material deliveries from the U.S.S.R.. On June 7, 1962, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance adopted "basic principles of international socialist division of labor," which provide among other things for " mutual support in expanding raw-material extracting industries through financial contributions of the countries interested in the products" (Handbuch der Verträge - 1871-1964 ["Handbook of treaties"], Berlin, 1968, p. 746).

Since then, two Soviet oil pipelines have been built with capital and labor from other CMEA countries. A whole range of enterprises for extracting raw materials has been established in the Soviet Union with capital from other CMEA countries. The Soviet Union gets a long-term credit at low interest, which it pays back with deliveries of raw materials at Soviet prices. In this connection Yuri Belyaev praises an agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, concluded one month after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968:

> Another impressive example of cooperation to the mutual advantage of the CMEA countries in the development of their fuel and raw material basis is the agreement recently signed by the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia on petroleum production in the Soviet Union for Czechoslovakian needs. Under this agreement Czechoslovakia has granted the Soviet Union a dedicated credit of 500 million exchange rubles at one-percent interest.
>
> A large part of this credit takes the form of deliveries of machines, pipes and oil rigs to the U.S.S.R. From 1971 on the Soviet Union will

repay this credit with deliveries of oil at agreed prices. Between 1971 and 1984, a total of 60 million tons of oil more than provided for in the long-term trade agreements will be supplied. In negotiations between delegations of the governments of Czechslovakia and the U.S.S.R. im Moscow (September, 1968) an agreement was signed expanding the deliveries of natural gas from the U.S.S.R. to Czechoslovakia from 1.3 billion cubic meters (1970) to 3 billion in the following years. In addition, beginning in 1972 the U.S.S.R. will supply 2 million tons of iron ore concentrate for the East Slovakian iron and steel combine, which will enable saving 300 million koruna in investment funds. In return the Czechoslovakian side has taken on the obligation of supporting construction of the Soviet long-distance gas pipelines by supplying steel tube and trucks partly on a credit basis. (Yuri Belyaev, *Wirtschaftszusammenarbeit der RGW-Länder* ["Economic cooperation of the CMEA countries"], Moscow, p. 116)

This has two initial advantages for the social-imperialists: first, they get the capital to set up new enterprises in their own country; second, they secure themselves contractually a market for the products that will come. The CMEA countries are required to take the contractually stipulated quantities, and the social-imperialists dictate the price. The first agreement of this kind was signed between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia in 1960. Czechoslovakia supplied equipment to set up enterprises for extracting and dressing ores in the U.S.S.R. and received iron ore concentrate and nonferrous heavy metals.

The next agreement of this type between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was concluded on September 23, 1966, and concerned oil production and transport in the Soviet Union. From 1969 to 1974 Czechoslovakia delivered Tatra trucks, large welded pipes, a plant for welding large pipe, and a complete four-high 3600 sheet rolling mill. The U.S.S.R. paid with oil beginning in 1975, but precisely then the prices for this oil rose sharply.

There does not seem to have been agreement in the past even in the revisionist leadership of Czechoslovakia about the "advantage" of such arrangements. In any case it is remarkable that the third deal of this kind came about under military pressure.

> The agreement was in preparation since the beginning of 1968 [that is, since the downfall of Novotny and Dubcek's election to Chairman of the Communist Party - The Editors] and was indeed signed during the time of crisis in Czechoslovakia. It became one of the most important elements for overcoming the crisis and gradually stabilizing the economic and political situation in Czechoslovakia. The signing took place directly following the events of August [after the military invasion - The Editors] on September 10, 1968. At the same time additional Soviet deliveries were agreed which helped to solve Czechoslovakia's immediate raw material and food problems. (F. Mares, first deputy foreign trade minister of Czechoslovakia, "30 Years of Trade Relations between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 4, 1975, p. 6)

Up to this point, such deals had been the exception in the CMEA. The *Wörterbuch der Ökonomie des Sozialismus* ("Economic Glossary of Socialism") published in 1969 in the G.D.R. still writes under "barter transactions":

> Form of trade between countries based on exchange of goods for goods without real exchange of currency. The barter transaction is the primary, most primitive form of exchange of goods and is the exception today. (p. 424)

These words would get the authors in trouble today, for now these deals are considered particularly shining examples of "socialist integration."

In addition to bilateral agreements there are now a number of arrangements committing all European CMEA countries to participate in building factories in the U.S.S.R., payment being in the form of delivery of products from these factories. Only Romania has in some instances been able to avoid this "most primitive form of the exchange of goods."

The decisive breakthrough was achieved by the social-imperialists in 1971 with the acceptance of the "comprehensive programme for further extension and improvement of the socialist economic integration of the member countries of the CMEA" by the governments of the CMEA countries. This programme obliges them jointly to develop the raw material deposits in the U.S.S.R. and to promote "spe-

cialization and cooperation" in production, which we will deal with in more detail later.

In 1973, Bulgaria, Hungary, the G.D.R., Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. concluded an agreement on the building of an asbestos mining and processing combine in the U.S.S.R. With the exception of the Soviet Union, the countries which are party to the agreement have committed themselves

> to deliver to the U.S.S.R. in the period 1973-1979 the designs, materials, machines and equipment, consumer goods and other products necessary for building the combine. The list of goods and services to be supplied to the U.S.S.R. is stipulated, with volumes and dates, in the bilateral agreements signed between the Soviet Union and the countries participating in the organized cooperation. (V. Soloyev, "The new form of cooperation of the CMEA countries in action," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 9, 1974, p. 37)

In return the U.S.S.R. delivers asbestos from 1980 to 1991. The quantity which must be purchased is already contractually fixed, but the price is not. About the prices for the asbestos to be delivered later by the U.S.S.R., Soloyev says:

> The prices of commodities are the subject of bilateral agreements and will be set at the level of the agreed prices for similar commodities as they apply to trade between the CMEA countries **in the period of delivery.** (*ibid.*; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

At the 29th Conference of the CMEA in 1975 the social-imperialists landed their biggest success to date in deals of this kind. The following projects were approved:

- woodpulp combine in Ust-Ilim (near Irkutsk)
- asbestos combine in Kiembaev (Ural)
- steel mill near Kursk
- natural gas pipeline from Orenburg to the Soviet western frontier
- 750 kV electric transmission line between the U.S.S.R. and Hungary
- nickel works in Cuba

These were partly new projects, and partly a confirmation of already approved projects. With the exception of the nickel works in

Cuba, which we will deal with separately, all these facilities will be built in the U.S.S.R. It is also interesting that the Kursk steel mill is included in the agreements although it is being built by Western monopolies. Evidently the social-imperialists want the "fraternal participation" of the smaller CMEA countries in the cost of importing Western technology.

The construction of the gas line from Orenburg to the western frontier of the U.S.S.R. strikingly demonstrates the methods used by the social-imperialists in plundering their colonies. The gas line has an overall length of 2,750 kilometers, divided into five sections, with each party to the agreement — except the Soviet Union — responsible for completion and delivery of its section to the U.S.S.R. on schedule. An article of the Soviet newspaper *Trud* dated April 7, 1976, comments:

> Construction of the first section is financed by the Hungarian People's Republic, the second by Czechoslovakia, the third by the PR Poland, the fourth by the G.D.R., and the fifth by the PR Bulgaria. The national construction brigades are distributed along the line differently, however — in accord with the bilateral agreements. Soviet construction workers will lay the linear parts of the pipeline in the Bulgarian section, the Hungarians build the compressor stations, and Bulgaria will send 5,000 specialists to the U.S.S.R. annually for the construction of facilities for the gas industry.

The word "financing" refers to all costs, not only to materials, but also to the engineers and workers, their pay, accommodations and support. Entire housing complexes emerge in the U.S.S.R. — are "thrown into the bargain." The labor to build the gas line is also supplied by the small CMEA countries.

> The countries which are party to the general agreement sent large, well-equipped building and assembly companies along with the necessary staff able to ensure that work is carried out along the line according to the agreed uniform time plan. (Ryzsard Ziólkovski/ Nikolai Skotnikov, CMEA Secretariat: "Important projects through the year 2000," in: *Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 51, 1976, p. 15)

This method of exploiting their colonies — direct exploitation of

their labor — seems to be taking on ever greater dimensions. For instance, since 1975 some 15,000 to 20,000 Bulgarian "guest" workers have been employed by a timber processing company in the Soviet Union.

The expenditures of the CMEA countries for realizing the agreed joint projects are very high. The G.D.R. alone had to put up a total of 8 billion marks for this purpose from 1976 to 1980 (*Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 13, 1977, p. 5). This sum is not available for projects in the G.D.R., and the question arises how this is to be financed. Financing is partly provided by the Moscow-based International Investment Bank IIB set up in 1971. The bank grants credits in transferable rubles and Western currencies to CMEA countries and developing countries. But according to its charter the bank is only supposed to provide credits for joint projects to develop natural resources and for measures in connection with agreements on "specialization and cooperation" in production.

> "Establishment of the International Investment Bank was necessary to concentrate financial resources further. It was designed to deepen the process of socialist economic integration," the director of the bank's managing board, Albert Belechenko, declared (*Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 47, 1976, p. 12).

From 1971 to 1975 the bank granted credits totalling 577.2 million transferable rubles for investments whose total volume exceeds 5 billion transferable rubles (*Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 25, 1976, pp. 20/21)

The pipeline from Orenburg to the western border of the Soviet Union is one project partly financed with IIB credits. The bank's lending volume increased rapidly in 1975. That year alone it granted credits amounting to 384 million transferable rubles. In the IIB balance sheet, outstanding debt due to credit grants rose from 186,330,000 transferable rubles on January 1, 1975, to 554,488,000 transferable rubles on January 1, 1976.

The interest rate for these credits is four to six percent, and was reduced to three to five percent for the period 1974 through 1976. Credits for the Orenburg gas line project bear only 2 percent interest.

These comparatively low interest rates only apply to credits in transferable rubles, however. The CMEA countries are forced in part to take up credits in Western currencies. This is the case when they must purchase the equipment for the joint objects in the Western imperialist countries. For such credits from IIB the interest rates of the international foreign exchange markets apply.

Thus, the CMEA countries are simultaneously plundered in three ways by the social-imperialists. First, they must incur debts with the IIB — this amounts to capital export by the social-imperialists. Second, with these credits and their own funds they must set up enterprises in the U.S.S.R. Third, they must commit themselves to take a fixed quantity of products from these enterprises later at prices dictated by the social-imperialists.

The upshot of all this is that bureaucratic monopoly capitalism secures a raw material base with the aid of neocolonial exploitation of other countries. Merely the form of this exploitation differs from that practiced by the Western monopolies, since the Soviet Union itself has vast supplies of raw materials. In certain areas, though, the social-imperialists do not have sufficient local raw material sources. This is the case with nickel, for example. Here the social-imperialists follow exactly the same procedure as the Western monopolies and their state.

Cuba has large nickel deposits. The social-imperialists export capital and goods on a large scale to Cuba on credit basis. "Without these credits we could not have made investments without restricting the people's consumption," said C.P. Rodriguez, member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (quoted by V. Morozov, first deputy chairman of the state committee on foreign trade relations, in the article "15 years of economic cooperation U.S.S.R.-Cuba," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 8, 1975, p. 8). With these credits Cuba pays for goods delivered from the Soviet Union. The entire extent of Cuba's current debts are unknown, but in 1974 they already came to 4.3 billion dollars, not including weapons deliveries. The case of the nickel industry gives an impression of Cuba's indebtedness:

A no less important role in the cooperation between the two countries is played by the nickel industry, output of which has tripled in the years of people's power. This cooperation took place on three levels until 1972: sending of Soviet experts to assist in the work of the two nickel plants in Nicaro and Moa; planning, research and testing aimed at creating new production capacities and improving the work of the nickel plants; supplying the existing plants with operating materials, fuels, replacement parts and individual subassemblies.

From 1960 to 1974, the U.S.S.R. supplied 1,419,000 tons of sulphur, 562,000 tons of anthracite, and 172,000 tons of ammonia. In addition, replacement parts and individual subassemblies for plant and equipment are delivered each year. Their value has ranged from 1.5 to 3 million rubles annually. Without exaggerating we can say that the supplies of raw materials and fuels, replacement parts and subassemblies have played and play the decisive role in maintaining the production processes at the Cuban nickel plants. (*ibid.*, p. 11)

In 1972 a new agreement was concluded to extend and modernize capacities. Together with other CMEA countries the Soviet Union also finances, with credits, the construction of a new mining and refining complex for production of 30,000 tons (ore yield) of nickel and cobalt annually. These credits will be repaid with deliveries of commodities to the Soviet Union over a period of 25 years beginning in 1976. This ensures the social-imperialists complete control over Cuban nickel and cobalt production. The same goes for sugar production. The world market price for sugar reached a high of 66 cents per pound in November, 1974. Today it is less than 10 cents. Over half of Cuba's sugar output sells to the CMEA at fixed prices. Cuba had to forego the record price in selling to the CMEA, but was also protected from the low prices from which sales to other countries suffered.

Nevertheless, Cuba urgently needs foreign exchange from Western industrial nations for the purchase of machines and other imports, which becomes more and more difficult owing to the low price of sugar. Consequently, it becomes more and more dependent on the Soviet Union. Already today, Cuba is totally unable to pay its debts to the Soviet Union. An agreement was concluded in 1972 postponing repayment of the credits granted prior to 1972. These debts are

now to be paid off over 25 years beginning in 1986. (N. Gladkov, "U.S.S.R. - Cuba - Cooperation between friends," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 12, 1974)

Castro, who likes to celebrate himself as *lider máximo* (greatest leader), behaves in this situation just like the many petty princes in 18th century Germany, who forced the young men in their domains into military service and sold them as recruits to the European Great Powers, for them to use in their colonial wars. The advantage of these princes was that they at least had the choice of selling to the highest bidder. Castro does not have this choice. He has to be satisfied with what the social-imperialists forgive of his debts.

With the bauxite deposits in Hungary it is the same as with the Cuban nickel. Bauxite is the raw material from which aluminum is produced. Bauxite is first converted to aluminum oxide. About two tons of aluminum oxide yield one ton of refined aluminum. In Hungary, the CMEA undertook nothing to develop Hungary's aluminum industry on the basis of these bauxite deposits. On the contrary:

> The agreement on aluminum oxide and aluminum signed in 1962 was extended to 1985. It calls for Hungary to supply 330,000 tons of aluminum oxide annually to the Soviet Union from 1981 to 1985 and to purchase 165,000 tons of aluminum annually from the Soviet Union. (L. Kövári/F. Mosoczy, "The significance for Hungary's economy of coordinating plans with the Soviet Union," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 4, 1977, p. 12)

The consequences of this agreement can be seen in the 1973 statistical yearbook of the Hungarian People's Republic. In 1973, Hungary exported some 659,000 tons of bauxite at a price averaging 72 exchange forint per ton, 598,000 tons of aluminum oxide at an average 1,038 exchange forint per ton, and 24,305 tons of scrap aluminum at 3,127 exchange forint per ton. From the aluminum oxide and scrap aluminum, about 320,000 tons of aluminum could be smelted. Hungary, however, imported 140,956 tons of aluminum in 1973, mainly from the U.S.S.R., and paid 6,206 exchange forint per ton.

For the **export** of bauxite, aluminum oxide and scrap aluminum, from which a good 320,000 tons of aluminum can be produced, Hungary received a total of 743.1 million exchange forint in 1973. For the

import of 140,956 tons of aluminum Hungary had to spend 874.8 million exchange forint in the same year. That is colonial exploitation in its pure form, as in the former colonies.

Hungary produces a certain amount of aluminum itself, which is mostly exported, though not to the U.S.S.R. In 1973, Hungary realized an average 5,077 exchange forint per ton on 86,256 tons of exported aluminum. This is 1,129 exchange forint less than the price of the imported aluminum. If the Hungarian People's Republic were allowed to produce and process the aluminum itself and to do without imports from the Soviet Union, this price difference alone would have made for savings of 97.4 million exchange forint in 1973.

With developing countries to which they export capital the social-imperialists deal the same as they did with Hungary. Such capital export frequently serves to capture raw material sources. Foreign trade minister Patolichev writes:

> Soviet credits to the developing countries are paid back in exports from these countries and so do not create a balance of payments problem. In the recent past it has become more and more common for the partners to agree on repayment of part of the credits with products from the factories built with the aid of the U.S.S.R. This is a further advantage to the developing countries and promotes the planned development of their foreign trade relations. In several cases a certain cooperation in production between the Soviet Union and developing countries has resulted. (Nikolai Patolichev, *Aussenhandel* [German edition of *U.S.S.R. Foreign Trade: Past, present and future*], Moscow, p. 9)

Patolichev forgot to mention that these credits also serve to further the export of merchandise, since the developing countries must spend the money for equipment and goods from the Soviet Union. The Turkish newspaper *Halikin Sesi* No. 93 of January 25, 1977, published an example of the methods of the social-imperialists, which shows that they treat the developing countries just as they do the CMEA countries. The example again involves the exploitation of bauxite deposits, this time in Turkey.

On May 9, 1967, the Soviet Union concluded an investment agreement with the Turkish Seydisehir aluminum smeltery. The social-

imperialists provided what at first appeared to be a cheap credit of 60 million dollars at 2 1/2 percent interest for 15 years for materials, plant and equipment, planning assistance and technical aid for the construction of the aluminum plant in the Seydisehir mountains, where there are large bauxite deposits. The contract called for building a plant to produce 200,000 tons of aluminate annually, of which 120,000 tons were to be smelted directly to 60,000 tons of aluminum in a further plant. The remaining 80,000 tons of aluminate were to be exported. The social-imperialists insisted that they be the only purchasers. Ten years after the agreement was concluded, the newspaper sums up:

> It is a fact that, although ten years have passed since the investment agreement was signed, the Russians have persistently delayed the opening of the Seydisehir plant, which smelts aluminum from aluminate. Almost all the aluminate obtained in Seydisehir is sold to the U.S.S.R. Turkey in turn has had to meet its aluminum requirements with expensive imports from abroad.

100,500 tons of aluminate from this plant were delivered to the U.S.S.R. in 1974 at a price of 82 dollars/ton. Only 500 tons went to other countries, for which a price of 132 dollars/ton was obtained. The social-imperialists thus take advantage of their monopoly as sole purchaser to reap super profits. Turkey, by contrast, is forced to import steadily growing quantities of aluminum, as Table 11 shows.

To prevent the smeltery in Seydisehir going into operation, the costs are made to spiral with antiquated technology. Just as for the Western imperialists, the pursuit of raw material sources is an essential motive of the politics of the social-imperialists.

In India they control one third of steel and oil production (*Sowjetunion heute*, 1 December 1973). In Angola they took the step to military intervention with Cuban mercenaries to get hold of the rich raw material supplies. This expansion automatically intensifies the contradictions to the affected peoples and to the other imperialist countries and increases the danger of war.

TABLE 11
Imports of Crude Aluminum to Turkey

Year	Quantity in t	Price per t in dollars	Total value in dollars
1972	32,000	484	15 million
1973	40,000	537	22 million
1974	50,000	914	46 million
1975	52,000	877	46 million

Source: *Halikin Sesi* of 25 January 1977. Figures from foreign trade data published by the government statistics office.

Specialization of Production in the CMEA Countries as a Subtle Method of Exploitation by Social-Imperialism

In regard to the CMEA comprehensive programme, which further deepens the dependence of the CMEA countries on the social-imperialists, Brezhnev stated at the XXVth Party Congress:

> This matter is not only one of considerable mutual economic advantage, but also of tremendous political significance. It is a matter of strengthening the material basis of our community. This is the angle from which the CC Political Bureau approaches it. (Report of the Central Committee to the C.P.S.U.)

A steadily growing portion of the trade between the CMEA countries is made up of exchange of specialized products, promotion of which is the task of the CMEA comprehensive programme. And this is indeed an important material basis for strengthening the power of the social-imperialists.

Specialization means that one country in the CMEA, or the enterprises in individual industries, concentrate on manufacturing certain products, produce them in large quantities, and export them mostly to other CMEA countries. The consequence of this is that for a num-

ber of products these countries are completely dependent on exports particularly to the Soviet Union, while for other products they are completely dependent on imports particularly from the Soviet Union.

The following table provides an overview of the value of reciprocal deliveries of specialized products. Conspicuously, the Soviet Union has a comparatively small share, and Romania also has a relatively small share.

TABLE 12

Deliveries of Specialized Products between CMEA Countries

Country	1973	1974	1974 : 1973 = 100
	Millions of rubles		: Percent
Total	1,997	2,728	137
Bulgaria	367	542	148
Hungary	163	226	139
G.D.R.	347	554	160
Poland	322	390	121
Romania	44	65	147
U.S.S.R.	490	571	116
Czechoslovakia	264	380	144

Source: V. Soloyev, "Cooperation of the CMEA countries strengthens," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 10, 1974, p. 30

This trade takes on some curious forms, which is entirely in the interest of the social-imperialists, however. For example, the Soviet Union delivers 2,000 and 3,000 horsepower diesel locomotives to Hungary, the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Czechoslovakia in turn produces electric-powered locomotives for passenger trains and delivers them to the U.S.S.R. Note, however, that rail traffic in the smaller CMEA countries is only electrified to a small extent (between 10 and 30 percent). Thus, Czechoslovakia supplies electric pas-

senger train engines to the U.S.S.R. which it hardly needs itself and can hardly export to other countries, and gets diesel locomotives which it actually needs. This is a wonderful situation for the social-imperialists, who can extort maximum profits by pushing up prices for diesel locomotives and pushing down prices for electric locomotives. To the Soviet Union goes

> 90 percent of the output of Hungarian shipyards and of the cranes built in Hungary; in addition, over two thirds of production of communications equipment, and half of the output of devices and machines for the food industry. (Patolichev, *Aussenhandel*, p. 54)

The list could go on and on. Apart from multilateral agreements on specialization there are numerous bilateral agreements, especially between the Soviet Union and the individual CMEA countries, extending practically to all areas of industry and agriculture.

The Soviet Union is the only CMEA country which has a comprehensively developed economy.

Through the specialization of their products, all other countries have become dependent on the deliveries of the social-imperialists and on the export of their volume-produced specialties to CMEA countries. This enables the social-imperialists to acquire maximum profits through economic pressure and price manipulation.

The fact that these dependent countries have more highly developed industries than the developing countries means nothing at all in view of this cleverly devised neocolonial system. How well-devised it is can be demonstrated by yet one more example. Since 1969 the Soviet Union has been producing 1,559 types of roller bearings, or 66.8 percent of the total volume of such bearings in the CMEA. Parallel production of 370 roller bearing types has been discontinued in all CMEA countries. This means not only cheaper, more efficient production. It also means that the mechanical engineering industries in all CMEA countries are dependent on the supply of roller bearings from the U.S.S.R. The social-imperialists thus have a means at their disposal for exercising control over and applying pressure to the mechanical engineering industry in their colonies and, if necessary, to paralyze them if they dare to go their own way. This is perhaps

one of the conclusions drawn by the social-imperialists from the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

To an ever greater degree the foreign trade of the smaller CMEA countries is becoming dependent on export and import based on agreements on production specialization. About 10 to 12 percent of Hungarian foreign trade was carried out under such agreements in 1975 (Guyula Kovács, "On the tasks of our trade and our trade policy," in: *Gazdasag* No. 1, 1976). The figure for the G.D.R. was 17 percent in 1974, according to the facts given by Honecker at the 13th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the SED. In the case of individual products as much as 70 percent of G.D.R. output goes into export.

"Export ratios of 70 percent and higher in selected industries and sectors of production, as is already the case in some areas, should be aimed at in other export-oriented branches," says Karl Morgenstern in an article entitled "Problems of concentration and of the development of the degree of international specialization in socialist economies" (in: *Wirtschaftswissenschaft* No. 3, 1972, p. 346).

The new trade agreements for the period 1976 to 1980 provide for further substantial increases. The illustration on page 320 shows the volume of trade of the Soviet Union with the Western industrial countries and with the CMEA countries and China in 1977 (in millions of dollars).

In reality, the production specialization agreements are, on the one hand, a form of capital export by bureaucratic monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union, and, on the other hand, a way of appropriating or stealing the smaller CMEA countries' means of production. In Bulgaria the situation is this:

> Currently, two thirds of the traditional products of our mechanical engineering industry, production of which our country specializes in (electric high-lift trucks and auto-loaders, electric hauling carts and farm machines), are exported to the Soviet Union. (I. Nedev, foreign trade minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, "Economic cooperation with the U.S.S.R. - a powerful factor for expansion of the Bulgarian economy," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 9, 1974, p. 11)

Figure 2

In 1975 there were 17 multilateral agreements on "specialization and cooperation" in the mechanical engineering industry at CMEA level concerning 1,700 types, sizes and models of products.

> Of these, 47.5 percent should be produced in one country, 27.4 percent in two countries, and 25.1 percent in three and more countries. These figures signify quite a high degree of concentration of production. (S. Chenchikovski, deputy head of the department for cooperation with CMEA countries in the foreign trade ministry of the U.S.S.R., "Specialization and cooperation of production among CMEA countries," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 7, 1975)

A country that specializes in one product obligates itself to meet the requirements of the other countries. Conversely, a country which does not specialize in this product obligates itself to produce it neither now nor later.

Often, these agreements are nothing more than the establishment of branches of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism in other countries. This is most apparent in the automobile industry. Hungary has spe-

cialized in producing components for the "Shiguli," which is sold in the Federal Republic of Germany under the name "Lada." 19 parts, such as dashboards, door locks and steering wheels, are manufactured in Hungary and delivered to the Soviet Union. Under the agreement, Hungary has also committed itself to purchase 180,000 "Shiguli" from 1976 to 1980. "Approximately half" of these will be supplied by the Soviet Union as compensation for the parts received. (G. Szeker, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and permanent representative of the H.P.R. to the CMEA, "Hungarian-Soviet relations in the economic and technical field: balance and outlook," in: *Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 8, 1977)

So, with the specialization on "Shiguli" components by Hungary the social-imperialists have simultaneously secured themselves a market. And how many "Shiguli" Hungary in fact receives to compensate its deliveries is determined in reality by the development of prices.

The components are manufactured on a large scale and permit extensive mechanization and automation of production. Capital export by bureaucratic monopoly capitalism takes place in the form that the Soviet Union provides the equipment for setting up or converting production. It goes without saying that it has Hungary pay for the equipment. And once again it is the International Investment Bank which grants the credits in such cases. Through the concentration of production in conjunction with mechanization and automation and by plundering other countries through capital export, bureaucratic monopoly capitalism reaps enormous maximum profits.

Bulgaria also mass-produces components for the "Shiguli," especially alternators and starters. Important in this connection is that Bulgaria numbers among the *low-wage countries within the CMEA* (*Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 33, 1976, p. 52). The G.D.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia likewise deliver "Shiguli" components, and in each case payment is coupled to delivery of complete "Shiguli" from the Soviet Union.

The export of such components entails price losses, as indicated by N. Mitrofanova in her study on contractual prices in the CMEA:

> In practice, the contractual prices, especially for forms of long-term cooperation, are frequently set beneath the level of the industrial wholesale prices of the exporting countries, since specialized production yields economies of scale which should benefit all the countries participating in cooperation fifty-fifty or in some other proportion. (*Sowjetwissenschaft* No. 10, 1974, p. 1,068)

In the chemical industry, an agreement was concluded between the G.D.R. and the Soviet Union for the 1976-1980 period, plus a further agreement "on the development of cross-relations in the chemical industry through 1996" (V. Yunitski, deputy minister of the chemical industry of the U.S.S.R., "Collaboration, specialization and cooperation," in: *Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 21, 1976, p. 19).

For the chemical industry of the G.D.R. this means a complete changeover. In the household chemicals sector the "international economic organization Domkhim" was founded in 1974. The members of this organization are the Soviet industrial association "Soyuzbytkhim" and the G.D.R. association "Leichtchemie." Here the specialization is already taking place in the form of an international group of companies, which plans production, investments and sales just like a multinational group in the Western countries.

This form of "socialist integration" is particularly popular with the social-imperialists since they get direct control over the means of production in the other CMEA countries. One of these international economic associations is "Assofoto":

> Specifically, it is the merging of the potentials of the plants and institutes of the "Soyuzkhimfoto" association of the U.S.S.R. and the photochemical combine Wolfen (G.D.R.). The goal is to jointly plan cooperation in research, development and production of photochemical and magnetic materials for information recording, to achieve optimum satisfaction of requirements by increasing labor productivity and efficiency, to improve product quality and to deal with matters of reciprocal delivery and export to third countries.
>
> The combination of efforts permits better utilization of the capacities of existing plants through specialization and cooperation in production and a coordinated and thus efficient expansion of capacities. (*Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 2, 1976, supplement p. VII)

Assofoto controls the CMEA market for photochemical products almost entirely (to 90 percent). Another major international economic association is "Interatominstrument" (IAI), which unites 15 production and foreign trade organizations from six countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, G.D.R., Poland, U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia).

> The association conducts research and experimental planning and design work, produces devices and systems for the nuclear industry, organizes scientific and technological cooperation as well as cooperation in production and trade between the IAI members, and promotes expansion of trade with other countries. (S. Twardon, director of Interatominstrument, "An example of international economic integration," in: *Aussenhandel* No. 10, 1976, p. 42)

IAI is chiefly a joint trade and research organization. It manages the sale of the products, including export outside the CMEA area, coordinates research activities, and works out proposals for specialization of production. It plans to establish its own production facilities.

Getting specialization of production accepted is an essential task of Interatominstrument. Thus far it has "developed foundations for the conclusion of agreements on specialization and cooperation for more than 300 products of the nuclear industry, which account for almost three quarters of the sales volume of the participating countries " (V. Morozov, "The joint organizations of the CMEA countries," in: *Presse der Sowjetunion* No. 27, 1976, p. 15).

Interatominstrument is a looser form of monopoly than Assofoto since the production facilities in the individual CMEA countries in formal terms still operate independently, which is no longer the case with Assofoto.

Since the formation of such international monopolies is basically nothing but theft of the results of production, and partly of the means of production, of other countries by the bureaucratic monopoly capitalism of the Soviet Union, problems arise for the social-imperialists, which Shiryaev describes this way:

> No less complicated are the questions which arise concerning ownership structures in international complexes. A part of these problems

were already basically clarified upon drawing up the draft agreements for creation of international economic organizations. Other questions are as yet unsolved. Still lacking, for example, are economically sound methods for assessing the contribution of each partner to the technical development and to the management of the complex, well-founded prices for mutually deliveries within the complex, and so on. (Y. Shiryaev, "Socialist integration as a process of planned cooperation of the national economic complexes of the CMEA countries," in: *Sowjetwissenschaft, Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge* No. 9, 1974, p. 935)

Owing to these difficulties, international economic organizations and associations emerge in the most varied forms. But on the whole this process of concentration is progressing in leaps and bounds. Both the number of economic associations, in which individual enterprises are joined, and the number of intergovernmental organizations like "Intermetall" and "Interkhim" are increasing. Principal task of these organizations is to coordinate the production of the CMEA countries in individual industries at the government level. Proposals developed there are then included in the agreements between the individual CMEA countries.

Of the current total of 48 international economic organizations in the CMEA area, 25 came into being from 1971 to 1974 alone. (Harald Zschierdrich, "International economic associations of the CMEA member countries," in: *Deutsche Aussenpolitik* No. 11, 1975, p. 1,678)

The Soviet social-imperialists concentrate particularly on industries which promise big growth and thus particularly big profits — chemicals, electronics, mechanical engineering and nuclear power. The basis of this process of centralization is bureaucratic monopoly capitalism's pursuit of maximum profits through concentration, rationalization and capital export. The revisionists openly admit this when they write:

Socialist international specialization and cooperation is one of the main ways to save materialized and living labor, to operate more efficiently with existing funds and labor, to boost production, and to develop and produce new, effective techniques and modern materials, production instruments and consumer goods quickly through co-

operative use of the experience and resources of the socialist countries.

The 200 agreements on cooperation in research and production already concluded with CMEA countries, the results obtained in the development of new chemical processes and plant together with the U.S.S.R., the preparations for construction of a joint cotton spinning mill together with Poland, that and much more are examples of this.

Without socialist international division of labor and cooperation, intensive extended reproduction is no longer possible in a steadily growing number of fields. (Karl Morgenstern, "Problems of concentration and of the development of the degree of international specialization in socialist economies," p. 346).

The social-imperialists have made the other CMEA countries (Romania, too, with reservations) completely dependent on them economically. Their economic might is the basis of the political subjugation of these countries.

The Political Subjugation of the CMEA Countries by the Social-Imperialists

In 1946, the Soviet Union, then a socialist country, promised in a treaty with the Mongolian People's Republic that Soviet troops stationed there in agreement with Mongolia, to defend against a military attack by the imperialists,

> will be withdrawn from the respective territory immediately the need for that has passed, just as took place in 1925 in respect of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of the MPR. (*Current International Treaties*, edited by T.B. Millar, London, 1984, p. 420)

There is no more mention of this in the new 1966 treaty with the social-imperialists. Instead, this treaty says:

> The High Contracting Parties shall assist each other in ensuring the defensive capacity of the two countries in accordance with the tasks involved in steadily strengthening the defensive power of the socialist community. (*ibid.*, p. 421)

In practice this means the social-imperialists have the right to military occupation and to establish bases in the M.P.R., to use it as a staging area against the People's Republic of China.

Similar treaties were concluded with other CMEA countries. As an example of the usually identical texts we take the treaty of May 12, 1967, between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria. This treaty commits Bulgaria to "international socialist division of labor and specialization and cooperation in production" (Article 2). It further obligates Bulgaria "to increase the strength and power of the world socialist system" (Article 4), and, "in the event of an armed attack on one of the High Contracting Parties by any State or group of States ... [to] immediately afford it all possible assistance, including military assistance, and support it with all the means at its disposal" (Article 7) (*ibid.*, pp. 436/437). This is in contradiction to the Warsaw Pact, which expressly refers to the event "of an armed attack in Europe on one or more of the States Parties to the Treaty..." (*ibid.*, p. 465).

The 1967 treaty obligates Bulgaria to support military aggression by the social-imperialists, who will certainly know how to stage an "armed attack." Their attacks on the People's Republic of China along the Ussuri in 1969 illustrate this.

The 1967 treaty also stands in complete contrast to the "Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual assistance between the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the People's Republic of Bulgaria" of March 18, 1948. This treaty was signed by Dimitrov and Malenkov. Article 2 states:

> Should either of the High Contracting Parties be involved in hostilities with Germany, which might seek to renew its policy of aggression, or with any other State which might be associated with Germany directly or in any other way in a policy of aggression, the other High Contracting Party shall immediately extend to the Contracting Party involved in hostilities military and other assistance with all the means at its disposal. (*ibid.*, p. 435)

This was directed solely at the warmongering of the U.S. imperialists and against the reestablishment of an aggressive new German imperialism. To fight this the socialist Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria agreed to "consult together on all major international problems affecting the interests of the two countries" (Article 4).

The treaty of 1967 differs decisively. It requires in addition that the

two countries "seek agreement" (Article 8) in such matters. This obligated Bulgaria to support the imperialist foreign policies of the Soviet leaders. Giving up national sovereignty like that naturally leads to resistance. In Hungary, the G.D.R., Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the M.P.R. and Cuba, the working class is not only faced with the task of social liberation from the new bourgeoisie, but also national liberation from the yoke of the social-imperialists.

The struggles in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland prove that the social-imperialists are sitting on a powder keg. To counteract these struggles the social-imperialists extend the system of neocolonialism to control of the mass media. "There is also useful cooperation between the mass information media — radio, television and the press," Brezhnev reports at the XXVth Party Congress. The book quoted at the beginning of this chapter, *Die Arbeiterklasse der sozialistischen Gemeinschaft in den siebziger Jahren*, writes:

> The fraternal parties have successfully applied a number of new forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the ideological field. These include a regular exchange of editors, the exchange of propagandistic and agitational material, and, very important, the direct exchange of experience during visits of party delegations in the fraternal countries. (p. 144)

In the same book the political goal of the social-imperialists is clearly stated: the complete annexation of the new colonies.

> The tendency towards internationalization of societal life in socialism conduces to the flourishing of the socialist nations. The successful growth of the socialist community in the thirty years since the liberation from fascism by the Soviet Union bears eloquent witness to this. Simultaneously, this tendency towards internationalization of societal life in socialism lets the socialist countries grow together increasingly. This tendency creates the objective and subjective conditions for the ultimate merger of the nations and is the chief factor in this process. (p. 148)

So that nobody gets the wrong idea, the book says later:

> The process of convergence of the countries of the socialist community is at the same time a process of uniting more closely and in a

> universal way around the main force of the community, the Soviet Union. (p. 149)

As a logical consequence the revisionist leaders of the G.D.R. have even incorporated their alliance with the social-imperialists in the country's constitution.

But that is not enough yet. The ambitious plans of the social-imperialists go further. "The working class of the socialist community of nations is becoming the model for the future unity and fraternity of the working people in the whole world," the revisionists say (p. 149). Turning the entire world into a colony of the bureaucratic monopoly capitalism of the Soviet Union — that indeed is the dream of the social-imperialists. That is what they mean by "the worldwide victory of socialism." They aspire to world domination in rivalry with the imperialist superpower U.S.A.

But the more they extend their tentacles around the world, the more the peoples recognize the true character of their politics: socialism in words, imperialism in deeds. The main tendency in the world today is revolution. The social-imperialists, like all other imperialists, will not succeed in turning back the wheel of history to the age of colonialism.

Today they try to make inroads in all parts of the world and obtain spheres of influence, using a tactic which is a great threat particularly to national liberation movements in the underdeveloped countries. Developments in Cuba demonstrate this.

The social-imperialists concluded the first long-term trade and payment agreement with Cuba in 1960. Prior to this the U.S.A. had stopped fuel deliveries to Cuba and closed the American market to Cuban sugar. The idea was to use hunger to force the people to their knees, who were leading the fight against the imperialist plundering by the U.S.A. The Soviet leaders helped out by supplying fuel and credits and buying up Cuban sugar. But their motive in doing so was by no means unselfish. The social-imperialists started out with credits and gradually made Cuba completely dependent on them, economically and politically. When Brezhnev visited Cuba in 1974, the complete economic and political dependence of Cuba on the Soviet Union was sealed in a declaration signed by Brezhnev and Castro.

The declaration said:

> The Soviet Union and Cuba attach great importance both to perfecting the already existing forms of bilateral and multilateral relations and to seeking ever new ways and directions of cooperation between the fraternal countries in **the political, the economic and other fields**. They are determined also in future to give undiminished attention to matters of socialist economic integration and to make a maximum contribution to realize the Comprehensive Programme and the other measures worked out for this purpose within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. (*Sowjetunion heute* of 16 February 1974, document p. X)

The search for "new ways and directions of cooperation between the fraternal countries" led Cubans, among others, to Africa — in the military field. In an article on "Current problems of the theory of the worldwide revolutionary process," the Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Ponomarev, described the tactics which the social-imperialists use to get developing countries under their control:

> By stressing development of the government sector, by progressive changes to the agrarian sector, by mobilizing broad masses to eradicate archaic social relations, the revolutionary democrats gradually create the necessary **domestic prerequisites** for developing towards socialism.
>
> By building up friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the revolutionary-democratic forces strengthen the necessary **foreign-policy prerequisites** for non-capitalist development. Gradually, the conditions emerge for incorporating a number of young nation-states in the system of international socialist division of labor, which ensures their liberation from the enslaving system of the capitalist world market. (*Der XXIV. Parteitag der KPdSU und die Entwicklung der marxistisch-leninistischen Theorie* ["The XXIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the development of Marxist-Leninist theory"], Moscow, 1972, p. 161)

After winning victory the national liberation movements are faced with great problems. Industry is almost nonexistent, agriculture is usually dominated by a few big landlords. Industry and huge estates

are owned by foreign monopolies and a small stratum of domestic capitalists and landlords.

Following the victory of Fidel Castro, what was Cuba to do with, for example, its sugar, after it nationalized the factories and plantations of the U.S. monopolies, who then tried to force Cuba to its knees by a trade boycott?

These are exactly the predicaments where the social-imperialists step in. They grant the national liberation movements "aid" in their struggle against the foreign monopolies and their lackeys. But this "aid" must be paid for dearly. It is the first step towards "incorporating a number of young nation-states in the system of international socialist division of labor."

The social-imperialists take advantage of the fact that the national liberation movements often are not led by Marxist-Leninists, that is, representatives of the working class, but by representatives of the national bourgeoisie. The latter have no interest, however, in carrying the democratic revolution on to the socialist revolution. Once they have shaken off the yoke of the Western monopolies and their local lackeys, the danger exists that they will suppress the working class with the help of the social-imperialists and establish themselves as the social-imperialists' new comprador bourgeoisie. If the Soviet leaders are going to achieve their goal of extending their colonial territories, they can only do it if they eliminate the Marxist-Leninists, who constitute the main threat to their policies.

A *textbook example* for the methods of the social-imperialists is Angola. With the entirely correct assessment that Portuguese colonialism could not last much longer in Angola, they supported the *Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola* (MPLA) with weapons, and finally by dispatching Cuban mercenaries. The struggle was directed not so much against the remaining Portuguese colonial forces as against other liberation movements, especially against the *National Union for the Total Independence of Angola* (UNITA).

The MPLA is not a Marxist-Leninist organization of the working class but an organization of the national bourgeoisie. This is clear from the programme of the MPLA, adopted in 1962. This programme is divided into a minimum and a maximum programme, which states

the farthest-reaching goals which the MPLA wants to achieve. It calls for immediate and unconditional independence for Angola. Politically, it calls for setting up an Angolan popular assembly through universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. This people's assembly is supposed to

> "appoint a coalition government which will in fact bring out the unity of the national and ethnic minorities of the various parts of the country, of the various social strata and the different political parties, and the genuine will of the nation in respect to freedom and progress in Angola and against the political or cultural subordination of the country to foreign interests."
>
> It is planned to grant "freedom of speech, conscience and religion, freedom of the press and of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of domicile, postal privacy, et cetera, to the entire Angolan people." (Brönner, Ostrowsky, *Die angolanische Revolution*, Frankfurt, 1976, pp. 142 and 141)

"Legal political parties" can take part in the elections to the people's assembly. Which parties are legal and which are not is not laid down. Thus, the maximum programme calls for nothing more than the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary democracy and the introduction of the bourgeois-democratic rights that go with this. The possibility of banning undesired parties is left open. At no point does this maximum programme speak of working-class rule, or of the rule of a working-class-led alliance of the working class with other classes oppressed by imperialism. This has absolutely nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism.

Economically, the maximum programme calls for the "abolishment of privileges accorded to foreign enterprises by the colonial regime," "protection of private industry and private trade," and "furtherance of private industry and private trade which are useful to the state-owned economy and the life of the people (*ibid.*, p. 143)

A state bank will be established, and foreign trade will be state-controlled. The creation of "state-owned industries" is envisaged. The programme is not committed to the expropriation of the property of foreign monopolies in Angola. All it says is: "Enterprises managed by foreigners must abide by the new laws of Angola."

The possibility of cooperation between the national bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolies after victory over Portuguese colonialism is left open. The only stipulation is that the foreign monopolies forfeit privileges not enjoyed by the national bourgeoisie, for example in respect to tax legislation.

Nowhere does the maximum programme of the MPLA say that after the victory over colonialism and imperialism the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution must be continued to the socialist revolution. On the contrary. Capitalism is to be protected and promoted. For the peasants a land reform is planned according to the principle: "The land belongs to those who work it." The land of "enemies of the popular movement" is to be expropriated. In the case of other land owners who are not enemies, if their land exceeds a certain size yet to be determined, the state will purchase it "for a fair price," in order to distribute it (*ibid.*, p. 144).

The last stipulations, however, are at best suited to make a land reform completely impossible. First, it must be decided who is an enemy and who is not. Then the maximum property size must be determined, which varies depending on the "conditions of agriculture in the particular area." If they get this far, then the "fair price" must be determined, and then the land will be divided up.

For the workers the programme provides for:

— "Abolition of forced labor"

— "Respect for the real independence of trade unions and legitimate worker organizations," with nothing said as to which worker organizations are legitimate and which are not.

— 8-hour workday and "legislation to protect workers"

— "Government setting of minimum wages" and strict observance of the principle "equal wages for equal work." Discrimination of workers based on sex, age and ethnic background is to be abolished.

— "Social assistance: aid to all penniless, ill, involuntarily unemployed, old and disabled Angolan citizens"

— "Gradual elimination of unemployment; right to work" (*ibid.*, pp. 144/145)

This is a programme of social reforms under capitalist conditions.

The maximum programme of the MPLA is an out-and-out bour-

geois programme reflecting the interests of the national bourgeoisie. It may suffice to mobilize the masses for the fight against Portuguese colonial rule, but can do nothing for the further development of Angola after victory over Portugal. It provides for the dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie, which in reality is so weak that it can only stay in power with the support of the social-imperialists.

Moreover, the maximum programme of the MPLA is outstandingly well-suited to the tactics of the social-imperialists. The MPLA has always had close ties with the social-imperialists. MPLA leader Agostinho Neto was a guest at the XXIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1971, where he said:

> During these ten years of revolutionary struggle, our movement, our people and our fighters ... have experienced the friendship and support of the Soviet people. We consider the Communist Party of the Soviet Union one of the main forces on which we rely in advancing our revolution." (*ibid.*, p. 82)

Following the triumph over the Portuguese colonial lords a new struggle for power was bound to take place in Angola. There were only two possibilities: either dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with renewed imperialist oppression as the necessary consequence, or dictatorship of the proletariat and genuine independence. Precisely this struggle has broken loose. The revisionist magazine *Neue Zeit* No. 21, 1976, reports the following example from Angola, following the deployment of Cuban mercenaries there:

> Recently the government banned the Kudibangela radio program, which was popular with a certain section of the listeners prior to the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola. But when armed victory appeared practically certain, the program turned ultraleftist. It called for immediate nationalization of all enterprises. This propaganda not only distorted the programme of the government, it caused irreparable damage to the economy because it contributed to the mass flight of Portuguese specialists.

Responsible for this were "asocial elements," "proponents of Maoist views," the article said further. But the article also dealt with the Angolan oil company Petrangol and showed what the real issue was:

After a circuit through the town we drove along the Congo into the Angolan selva. There is a huge storage facility of Petrangol along the road. Pipes and equipment are lying around, dead wires dangle. The oil tanks are empty. "We were worried most about the oil deposits. The bandits could have rendered them useless on their retreat."

We drove to Cabeca da Cobra with Desiderio da Costa from Petrangol. There were villages along the road, one more wretched than the other. Poor huts covered with palm leaves, wattle and daub fences — typical dwellings of Angolan peasants. As da Costa explained to us, despite its huge profits the company did not spend one escudo to develop the region. The Petrangol bosses didn't even have a proper road built. It was really a bad road. It had rained, and the wheels of our jeep sank into a thick reddish mire. I don't remember how often we had to get out and push the jeep until we got to our destination.

Finally, around a bend, in the middle of the thick savanna a small, clear area appeared on which several oil tanks stood, surrounded by baobab trees and thorny bushes. Da Costa expertly looked over the equipment and checked how the pumps and apparatuses were working. "Everything is okay," he said. "We could start pumping out oil immediately. But the law is the law. This deposit belongs to a mixed foreign company, in which Belgian and Portuguese capital are heavily involved. We could succumb to the temptation and nationalize the whole thing right away, because the owners are delaying the resumption of work. But we don't want to overhurry things. Rushing nationalization when spare parts and markets are lacking and no specialists are available at all could hurt us. For this reason we need a lot of patience and self-control when we take up contact with our business partners again. This is particularly important in the case of Cabinda Gulf Oil."

Gulf Oil is one of the large American multinational oil companies and is connected with the powerful banking house Mellon. A. Sampson reports on this connection in his book *The Seven Sisters. The Great Oil Companies and the World They Made,* for example on pages 194 and 195:

The Mellons kept much bigger holdings than the Rockefellers, and they still rival the Rockefellers in wealth. By 1973 the Mellons still held over 20 percent of the shares in Gulf — an astounding chunk of the tenth biggest American corporation — and there were two repre-

> sentatives on the board: Jim Walton, a grandson of William Larimer Mellon, and Nathan Pearson, the family's investment adviser. The Mellon influence may have been critical in achieving Gulf's biggest coup, when Andrew Mellon helped to get half the oil from Kuwait....
>
> Since Gulf first struck oil in Kuwait in 1937 they floated to greater and greater profits on its oil, hectically trying to find new outlets for the flood.... They invested heavily in Angola, only to find it a much more dangerous territory, a battleground between black and white.

Cabinda Gulf Oil in Angola is not nationalized although

— since the overthrow of Portuguese colonial rule Gulf Oil has paid no taxes and nothing for the mining rights in Cabinda, "which were given to the American Gulf Oil for next to nothing in 1967";

— 70 percent of the foreign exchange earnings came from this oil deposit;

— Gulf Oil shut down all the drill rigs and withdrew their specialists with the proclamation of the Republic of Angola.

People who lay the blame for this on the Marxist-Leninists who call for nationalization, and worry instead about the "contact with our business partners" from Gulf Oil, are not interested in the national and social liberation of Angola. In the meantime, following unofficial negotiations between the U.S. and Soviet governments, Gulf Oil has resumed extracting oil.

Economically, the social-imperialists are interested above all in exploiting Angola's wealth of raw materials. In addition to oil there are rich iron ore deposits along with diamonds, coal, copper, manganese. uranium and other minerals. There are also cotton, sisal and coffee plantations, and rich fishing grounds in the coastal area.

Angola is in a position that is ideal for the social-imperialists. The new people in power in Angola have already thrown themselves into their arms, and the social-imperialists will now set about to make Angola completely dependent on them, economically and politically, step by step, beginning with credits.

Social-imperialism goes about capturing raw material sources and markets differently than the Western state-monopoly countries. The latter endeavor mainly to further the export of capital by the monopolies to the developing countries. The monopolies thus have di-

rect control over property in these countries. Formerly, it was often the exclusive possession of the monopolies. In the meantime they have gone over to giving elements of the exploiting classes within the developing countries a share in these holdings.

The social-imperialists export capital in a different way. They take efforts to build up a state-owned industry in a certain developing country, which, however, is entirely dependent on the social-imperialists for its machinery and equipment, for maintaining the production process, and for selling the products. Capital export takes chiefly the form of credits for the purchase of plant and equipment (machines, steel structures, raw materials and — weapons). The dependence of the developing country stems from indebtedness and from the conditions on which the credits have been granted. To veil the exploitation the credits are provided at low interest rates. As a rule the contracts provide for purchasing the equipment in the Soviet Union and paying the debts with products of the factories which are set up.

Frequently, the developing countries must also promise to sell a certain part of the products of these enterprises to the Soviet Union and no one else. The social-imperialists obtain their maximum profits principally by dictating the prices for delivery of equipment and purchase of products. Here, too, elements of the national bourgeoisie in the developing countries get a cut of the profits, that is, of what is left after the contractually stipulated portion of the products has been sold to the Soviet Union at low prices.

The social-imperialists do not by any means limit their capital export to such countries as Cuba and Angola, in which the people's struggle has vanquished the political power of colonialism or Western neocolonialism. They also try to export capital to other countries and to make these countries gradually dependent on them. In a number of developing countries this leads to situations in which both the Western imperialist countries, especially the U.S.A., and the Soviet Union control substantial sections of the economy. A bitter struggle for political power then takes place in these countries, because this power determines to a great extent whose share of the plunder is enlarged and whose share is reduced. The struggle can manifest itself

in a swift change of governments accompanied by a change in policy.

This could be seen most clearly in Egypt and India, where the social-imperialists suffered major setbacks when Sadat went completely over to the American monopolies and the foremost representative of the interests of Soviet social-imperialism in India, Indira Ghandi, was ousted from office. Such countries, in which, in particular, the state-monopoly capitalism of the U.S.A. and bureaucratic monopoly capitalism square off in sharp competition for raw materials, markets and political power, increasingly acquire the character of semicolonies. This tendency is heightened by the penetration of West European and Japanese monopolies. In Angola, too, things will develop this way if the American and European monopolies retain their Angolan holdings. The contradictions between the power groups intensify. The peoples will take advantage of these contradictions in struggling for their national and social liberation. The more the social-imperialists expand, the more the peoples in the developing countries will recognize that they can only gain victory under the leadership of the working class in their own countries and in alliance with the proletariat in the imperialist countries on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninists of the entire world are the main obstacle to the social-imperialists' expansion. They strive to unmask and foil the expansionist plans of the Soviet leaders by resolutely combatting revisionism and supporting with all their might the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation under the leadership of the working class. Concerning the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression towards the then socialist Soviet Union, Mao Zedong declared in his "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" in 1946:

> There are two aspects to the propaganda about an anti-Soviet war. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is indeed preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current propaganda about an anti-Soviet war, as well as other anti-Soviet propaganda, is political preparation for such a war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smoke-screen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover many actual contradictions immediately confronting U.S. imperialism. These are the contradictions be-

> tween the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and the contradictions of U.S. imperialism with other capitalist countries and with the colonial and semicolonial countries. At present, the actual significance of the U.S. slogan of waging an anti-Soviet war is the oppression of the American people and the expansion of the U.S. forces of aggression in the rest of the capitalist world. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. IV, pp. 97/98)

These words are an accurate characterization of the present world situation and clearly bring out the double character of the policies of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism. On the one hand, the superpowers actually are preparing a world war. On the other hand, they make the most of their anticommunist activities to oppress the working people in their own countries and the peoples of the world.

3. Class Struggle in Socialist Society and the Tradition of Bourgeois Ideology

The Development of Class Struggle in China prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The revolution in China took a different course than the October Revolution in Russia. It was one of differing character, with one revolution passing over into another. When Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October, 1949, it marked a decisive turning point in a long-lasting struggle. In the **national revolutionary war** the Chinese people expelled the Japanese invaders. In the **people's democratic revolution**, carried out on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants, petty bourgeoisie and sections of the national bourgeoisie, the Chinese people defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries and the big bourgeoisie, along with their accomplices, the U.S. imperialists.

Afterwards the emphasis of the struggle shifted from the battlefield to the villages and factories, from the military to the political and ideological plane. Mao Zedong described this turning point on the eve of the triumph of the people's democratic revolution, at the

Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on March 5, 1949:

> After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. IV, p. 364)

Once the proletariat, together with its allies, had seized political power in the entire country, the young state began to reorganize the economy. By 1956, the socialist transformation of agriculture, the crafts, capitalist industry and capitalist commerce in respect to ownership of the means of production was completed in the main. All land was divided up among the poor and middle peasants, who then united in cooperatives, and later people's communes, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

In the cities the capital belonging to the big bourgeoisie was socialized. Only that section of the national bourgeoisie which had supported the people's democratic revolution was able to retain ownership of a part of the production facilities, but was subject to state supervision in respect to sales, working conditions and raw materials. There was both state ownership and the mixed government-private form of ownership in industry in 1956. This was a situation peculiar to China, the result of the support of the people's democratic revolution by a part of the national bourgeoisie.

China had thus reached the crossroads to the **socialist revolution** in 1956. However, the socialist transformation of agriculture and industry did not yet eliminate classes and class contradictions in China. In his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People* Mao Zedong analyzed the contradictions in socialist society in 1957. He found that the two main classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, still continue to exist and that the proletariat must carry the revolution forward. He divided the contradictions occurring in socialism into contradictions with different characters: "contradictions between ourselves and the enemy" and "contradictions among the people":

> The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic as well as an antagonistic aspect.... In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradictions between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, the contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and so on. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 385)

Of crucial importance is the correct handling of contradictions. If properly handled, antagonistic contradictions can be transformed into non-antagonistic; conversely, handled wrongly, non-antagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic contradictions. It is important that the proletariat led by the Communist Party take advantage of the contradictions to advance the socialist revolution. The still existing remnants of capitalism must be cut back and ultimately eradicated.

The proletariat must establish itself as the ruling class on all levels, in the economy just as much as in the state, the education system and culture, and must exercise control over all areas of society. Wherever the proletariat is unable to prevail, bourgeois and feudal forces will attempt to stop the socialist revolution and transform it into its opposite, into a new form of exploitation and oppression. The contradiction to the national bourgeoisie must be viewed under such conditions:

> The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between exploiter and exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic contradiction between the two classes, if properly handled, can be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods. However, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie will change into a contradiction between

> ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the **policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating** the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours. (*ibid.*, p. 386; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Mao Zedong pointed out the further course of the socialist revolution in his work and stated the appropriate methods to use: the reactionary classes, the reactionaries and the exploiters who oppose socialist revolution, must be kept down; the state must be protected from the subversion and possible aggression of external enemies; The contradictions among the people, ideological issues, should be settled democratically by the method of discussion, criticism, reasoning and education.

Owing to the correct handling of the various contradictions, socialist construction progressed. But not all parts of the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the rich and middle peasants in the country supported the progress of socialist transformation. A part of them saw their future as exploiter and landlord threatened and resisted socialist construction.

In the country, socialist transformation was gotten round by enlarging the private plots. The income of the various cooperatives and the individual families grew at different rates, and the differences became greater. Production norms were not set at the collective level, but at the level of the individual family. This policy accorded with the interests of the middle peasants, a petty-bourgeois stratum.

In industry, the mixed state-private sector was not restricted but extended. Enterprises were run by experts who had no connections to socialist production. The workers in turn were excluded from administration. Many enterprises had single directors. Management became increasingly removed from the consciousness of the immediate producers.

Bureaucratic tendencies emerged. Attention centered on production and technique and not on the political and ideological struggle for socialist transformation. Production was increasingly geared to the law of profit instead of to consumer interests. Technique was rated higher and higher in production, and a bonus system was introduced to push the workers to higher performance.

The Swedish journalist Jan Myrdal reports in his book on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Jan Myrdal, *China: The Revolution Continued*. New York, 1970) about the conditions in rural areas prior to the Cultural Revolution:

> Things had been going much the same way all over China. The cadres had begun to turn into bureaucrats. They were telling themselves the people didn't understand much. The newly-overthrown landowner class had begun to make connections, to marry into the cadres, smile pleasantly, and bow. Their children were going on to receive higher education, getting higher marks. As for the class struggle, the young cadres were beginning to say, "People talk such a lot!" (pp. 24/25)

The former landlords, capitalists and rich peasants did not limit themselves to holding up socialist development in the countryside and in industry by sabotage and influencing it in their direction. They had their representatives in administration, in government, and even in the Communist Party. Since the domestic and foreign enemies are aware that it is very difficult to attack the proletarian state from outside by military means, they take a different track and attempt to take the fortress from within. In *Peking Review* magazine's German edition, No. 1, 1964, it was pointed out:

> The class enemies inside and outside the country know that in order to make a socialist state degenerate into a capitalist state the main thing is to get the Communist Party to degenerate into a revisionist party. To get the Communist Party to degenerate, one must first have the leading nucleus of the Party at various levels degenerate. (Our translation - The Editors)

In China there was a comparatively small group of functionaries within the Party (compared to the total membership, which numbered about 30 million) who had made themselves the representatives of the overthrown exploiting class and abused their functions. The "Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" of May 16, 1966, said that "there are a number of them [representatives of the bourgeoisie] in the Central Committee and in Party, government and other departments at the central as well as the pro-

vincial, municipal and autonomous-region levels." Their spokesman in the Party was Liu Shaoqi, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The influence of these counterrevolutionary forces could not be eliminated by administrative measures or coercion. Their influence in the many organs of the proletarian state and the numerous institutions of socialist society was too great. Their bourgeois line was cleverly concealed and was not seen through by the broad masses. In 1963, the Communist Party launched an education movement in the countryside and called on the masses to criticize the shortcomings in administration, government and Party. But this movement did not yet prove the breakthrough. Mao Zedong characterized its deficiencies in the following words:

> In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem, because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way, and from below. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 25)

Mao Zedong thus drew important lessons from the failure of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, caused by a capitalist restoration. Lenin, and Stalin as well, recognized the danger of the bureaucratization of the apparatus of the Party, the economy and the state, of the emergence of a new bourgeoisie and thus of the restoration of capitalism. It was easier to deal with the old bureaucracy. Educating the new, card-carrying bureaucracy to protect the interests of socialist society was more difficult. In the book *Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B)* Lenin pointed out the difficulty of the struggle against bureaucracy:

> We dispersed these old bureaucrats, shuffled them and then began to place them in new posts. The tsarist bureaucrats began to join the Soviet institutions and practice their bureaucratic methods, they began to assume the coloring of Communists and, to succeed better in their careers, to procure membership cards of the Russian Communist Party. And so, they have been thrown out of the door but they creep back in through the window. What makes itself felt here most is the

> lack of cultured forces. These bureaucrats may be dismissed, but they cannot be re-educated all at once. Here we are confronted chiefly with organizational, cultural and educational problems. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 182/183)

Time and again Lenin demanded, as the only correct method to thwart such a development: the mobilization of the broad masses, the workers, the peasants, the entire working people, to combat bureaucratism, careerism, and every symptom of petty-bourgeois thinking.

Stalin also spoke of mobilizing the masses, but in practice he fought the bureaucracy with the state security service, which itself became more and more bureaucratic. A capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union could not be prevented by such methods. The struggle against the remnants of the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the rich peasants and against the old and new bureaucrats with their petty-bourgeois thinking is not so much a struggle that has to be conducted by administrative methods, but rather an ideological struggle; that is, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the ideological field. Mao Zedong realized this and stressed the importance of class struggle in socialism:

> In China, although socialist transformation has in the main been completed as regards the system of ownership, and although the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 409)

It is easier to recognize and defeat the enemy in open armed

struggle, in civil war, than in ideological struggle. Mao Zedong consequently emphasized:

> Ideological struggle differs from other forms of struggle, since the only method used is painstaking reasoning, and not crude coercion. (*ibid.*, p. 410)

Of course, wrong or even hostile ideas must not be tolerated. They must be treated like "poisonous weeds" and rooted out.

> We are against poisonous weeds of whatever kind, but we must carefully distinguish between what is really a poisonous weed and what is really a fragrant flower. Together with the masses of the people, we must learn to differentiate carefully between the two and use correct methods to fight the poisonous weeds. (*ibid.*, p. 411)

What are the correct methods of ideological struggle? What methods must be used against the wrong ideas of the enemy, and what methods against wrong opinions among the people? Mao Zedong makes this distinction:

> What should our policy be towards non-Marxist ideas? As far as unmistakable counterrevolutionaries and saboteurs of the socialist cause are concerned, the matter is easy, we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech. But incorrect ideas among the people are quite a different matter. Will it do to ban such ideas and deny them any opportunity for expression? Certainly not. It is not only futile but very harmful to use crude methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions about man's mental world. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. On the other hand, if correct ideas are pampered in hothouses and never exposed to the elements and immunized against disease, they will not win out against erroneous ones. Therefore, it is only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning that we can really foster correct ideas and overcome wrong ones, and that we can really settle issues. (*ibid.*, pp. 410/411)

This ideological struggle expressed itself in a spontaneous and indistinct form at first, and then in a more systematic and conscious way. It developed into a struggle between two lines.

Origin and Struggle of the Two Lines in Socialism

Working out a correct ideological-political line before, during and following the proletarian revolution is "the primary and most important thing" (Stalin). Why does the working class need a correct political line? It needs it in order to wage a united struggle, to establish it against the enemy with iron discipline, to mobilize the masses to build socialism with the help of the correct line.

Stalin points to the significance of a correct political line in the "Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)":

> A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political line is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the Party, who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*, p. 919)

The Communist Party works out the correct proletarian political line taking into account the opinions of the working people. It goes about it in a thorough and fundamental way. Two things are necessary: embracing and concretizing Marxism-Leninism, and accumulating a wealth of practical experience in struggle. Since an individual very rarely is able to do both, the experience and the theoretical knowledge of all members must be summed up in order to draw up and further develop the ideological line. This does not take place without differences of opinion, without a struggle between the various views and ideas of the members.

A struggle of opinions for the sake of formulating the correct political line takes place. It must particularly take into account what we wrote in REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 10, entitled *Einige Grundfragen des Parteiaufbaus* ("A Few Basic Issues of Party-Building"):

> In their local work the party members gain rich practical experience which must be evaluated. Inner-party democracy is necessary

for members to lay open their experience so that all problems in connection with ideological, programmatic and tactical issues, with carrying out the Party's political line, can be discussed openly and in an unbiased, critical manner....

But the knowledge which the members have gained and put forward in inner-party discussion is usually gained from single instances and does not hang together. The leading bodies, therefore, must sum up, concentrate and systematize the rich practical experience of the members. Only then is it possible to make correct decisions. But if one is to summarize experience, one must first get to know it. Consequently, open discussion, inner-party democracy, is a necessity and a precondition of centralism. (p. 26)

The struggle to develop the line presupposes a desire for principled unity, unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, the contest of opinions cannot and must not go on indefinitely. It must be terminated by a decision. Stalin says in *The Foundations of Leninism*:

> But after a conflict of opinion has been closed, after criticism has been exhausted and a decision has been arrived at, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members are the necessary conditions without which neither Party unity nor iron discipline in the Party is conceivable. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 189)

The ideological-political line established in this way is binding for all members and must be carried into effect with discipline.

> The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the Party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action on the part of all members of the Party. (*ibid.*)

This is true for the struggle under the conditions both of capitalism and socialism. The triumph of proletarian revolution in one country and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not put an end to class struggle. Capitalist encirclement poses the constant danger of military intervention. The foreign capitalists decree an economic boycott against the socialist country. They have

their agents organize acts of sabotage to disrupt socialist construction. The remnants of the deposed capitalist class try with all their might, and with the support of the capitalists abroad, to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and force the restoration of capitalism.

Even if all attempts by the domestic and foreign capitalists to restore their old power by violent means should fail, class struggle continues.

Of outstanding significance is the position taken by Lenin on the question of class struggle in socialism under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set down in "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat":

> Socialism means the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes cannot be abolished at one stroke.
>
> And classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat they will not disappear.
>
> Classes have remained, but in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat *every* class has undergone a change, and the relations between the classes have also changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it merely assumes different forms.
>
> Under capitalism the proletariat was an oppressed class, a class which had been deprived of the means of production, the only class which stood directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie, and therefore the only one capable of being revolutionary to the very end. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie and conquered political power, the proletariat has become the *ruling* class; it wields state power, it exercises control over means of production already socialized; it guides the wavering and intermediary elements and classes; it crushes the increasingly stubborn resistance of the exploiters. All these are *specific* tasks of the class struggle, tasks which the proletariat formerly did not and could not have set itself.
>
> The class of exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not de-

stroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, of which they are a branch. They still retain certain means of production in part, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Because they have been defeated, the energy of their resistance has increased a hundred- and a thousandfold. The "art" of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical proportion of the population. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, unless this concept is replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

Lastly, the peasants, like the petty bourgeoisie in general, occupy a half-way, intermediate position *even* under the dictatorship of the proletariat: on the one hand, they are a fairly large (and in backward Russia, a vast) mass of working people, united by the common interest of all working people to emancipate themselves from the landowner and the capitalist; on the other hand, they are disunited small proprietors, property-owners and traders. Such an economic position inevitably causes them to vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In view of the acute form which the struggle between these two classes has assumed, in view of the incredibly severe break-up of all social relations, and in view of the great attachment of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie generally to the old, the routine, and the unchanging, it is only natural that we should inevitably find them swinging from one side to the other, that we should find them wavering, changeable, uncertain, and so on.

In relation to this class — or to these social elements — the proletariat must strive to establish its influence over it, to guide it. To give leadership to the vacillating and unstable — such is the task of the proletariat.

If we compare all the basic forces or classes and their interrelations, as modified by the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall realize how unutterably nonsensical and theoretically stupid is the common petty-bourgeois idea ... that the transition to socialism is possible "by means of democracy" in general. [Or as the revisionists of the DKP say: by means of "antimonopolist democracy" - The Editors.] (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 114-116)

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the class

struggle shifts in the course of socialist development from the military side to the ideological and political, which is no less dangerous.

Bourgeois ideology seeps through numerous channels into the working class and seeks to corrode proletarian ideology. This is made easier by the existence of the petty-bourgeois strata, which vacillate between bourgeoisie and working class. The working class and the petty bourgeoisie are interlinked by thousands of strings. Petty-bourgeois thinking constantly exerts influence on the working class. The proletarian party, the vanguard of the proletariat, is also not immune to this. The subversive ideological and political activities, restrained and covert at first, inevitably come to the surface. Mao Zedong points out in his outstanding work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*:

> It is inevitable that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. It is inevitable that they will stubbornly assert themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. Undoubtedly, we must criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to dominate the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 411)

In REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG No. 15 in 1976, with the title *Kampf dem Liquidatorentum* ("Combat Liquidationism!"), we discussed in great detail the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking. There, proof is delivered that petty-bourgeois thinking is the chief cause of liquidationism in the working-class movement:

> Liquidationism cannot be separated from a petty-bourgeois mode of thinking. A proletarian mode of thinking is incompatible with liquidationism. It is like fire to water. Since it is inevitable that petty-bourgeois elements will find their way into the workers' movement — because their petty-bourgeois livelihood is ruined and they are thrust into the proletariat, or because petty-bourgeois intellectuals

> join the working-class movement or become members of the working-class party — the question always arises: do they succeed in overcoming petty-bourgeois thinking and completely adopting proletarian thinking, or does their petty-bourgeois mode of thinking influence the proletarian mode of thinking of the working class?
>
> The question of the mode of thinking is so important for the workers' movement that it must constantly be reviewed. Nay, more: "who influences whom?" must constantly be checked. (p. 11)

The stronger the influence of petty-bourgeois thinking on parts of the working class, the more this tends to impede class struggle. The more footholds the various manifestations of petty-bourgeois thinking get in the proletarian party, the more this must influence the ideological and political steadfastness of the members — either in a negative way or in a positive way. Some succumb to the petty-bourgeois influence, while the others strengthen themselves ideologically and politically in struggle against it. Consequently, a struggle develops in the Party, a tug-of-war between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois modes of thinking. Petty-bourgeois thinking finds expression in an ideological-political line which stems itself against the proletarian line. The struggle between the two lines flares up and gains intensity.

The petty-bourgeois line — initially a tendency occurring as a contradiction among the people — becomes an antagonistic contradiction. The proletarian line must be aggressively defended against the petty-bourgeois line with the goal of smashing the petty-bourgeois line and helping the proletarian line prevail. Were the petty-bourgeois line to prevail, it would mean a victory for revisionism and the liquidation of the proletarian party.

The petty-bourgeois line emerges spontaneously in the course of the struggle between the great classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is the effect of bourgeois ideology, which generates and nurtures petty-bourgeois thinking and which develops further, from individual petty-bourgeois lines of thought, which express themselves here and there, to a system of petty-bourgeois views; that is, to the formation of a petty-bourgeois line. The struggle between the two lines now breaks out.

The inner-party struggle is a reflection of the class struggle and expresses itself as a two-line struggle. In other words, every ideological-political line is bound to a particular class: the bourgeois class puts its bourgeois line forward, the working class its proletarian line. The content of the bourgeois line is the bourgeois ideology; the content of the proletarian line is the proletarian ideology, that is, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The struggle between the two lines is the result of the contradictions within the workers' movement and the proletarian party, while the class contradictions exert an external influence on and are reflected in them.

Mao Zedong emphasizes in his work *On Contradiction*:

> Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. I, p. 317)

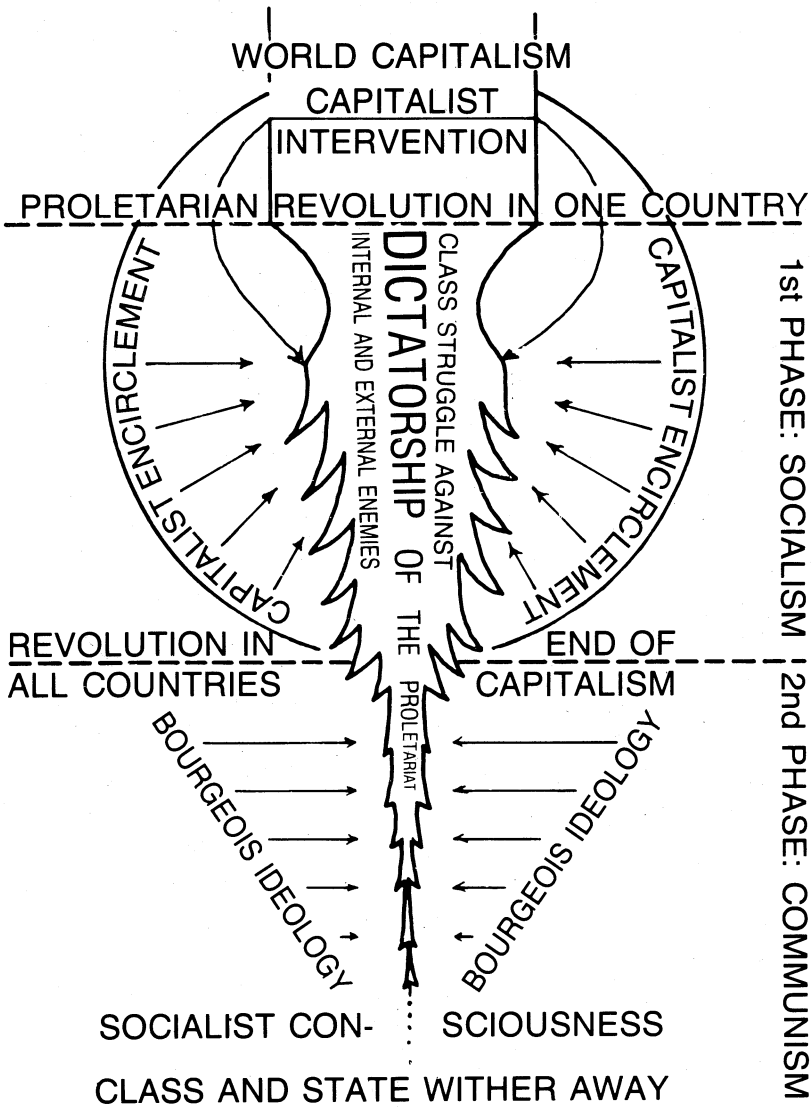
Thus this process has the force of law. That is, as long as bourgeois ideology influences the working masses particularly by way of the petty-bourgeois elements, a struggle between the two lines will emerge inside and outside the proletarian party on the basis of inner-party contradictions, both in capitalism and in socialism. We must conclude from this:

The two-line struggle is the objective law of the development of inner-party contradictions both in capitalism and in socialism!

How long does the struggle between the two lines last in socialism, and when is it over? Figure 3 shows how class struggle in the first phase of communism, socialism, still rages against the internal and external enemies, and how, even in the second phase, communism proper, it must be continued as ideological struggle until it gradually wins out over the tradition of bourgeois ideology.

Following the victorious proletarian revolution in a single country, the crushing of any intervention by foreign capitalists, and the successful completion of the civil war, the class struggles have not come to an end. Rather they flare up again and again, against internal and external enemies, against the remnants of the overthrown bourgeoi-

Figure 3


WORLD CAPITALISM
CAPITALIST INTERVENTION
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN ONE COUNTRY
CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT
DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT
CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES
CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT
1st PHASE: SOCIALISM
REVOLUTION IN ALL COUNTRIES
END OF CAPITALISM
2nd PHASE: COMMUNISM
BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY
BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY
SOCIALIST CON-
SCIOUSNESS
CLASS AND STATE WITHER AWAY

sie, which has been stripped of its power but uses every means of ideological and armed struggle to try to bring about the restoration of capitalism. The first phase of communism, called socialism, is rife with class struggles, and they will burst forth repeatedly, encouraged by capitalist encirclement and supported ideologically and, if need be, militarily.

As long as there are capitalist countries in the world, the threat to socialist construction from outside is not yet removed, and the danger of the restoration of capitalism through the degeneration of the bureaucracy inside the socialist country is not eliminated. Only when the gradual success of the proletarian world revolution has eliminated capitalist rule in the entire world will the external conditions exist for the transition from the first to the second phase of communism. The internal conditions consist in gradually overcoming the differences between town and country (and thus also between workers and peasants) and between manual and mental labor (and thus also between workers and intellectuals); in the merger of the two forms of ownership (ownership by society and cooperative ownership combine into merely social ownership); in the creation of an abundance of products as the basis for moving on to the distribution principle "To each according to his needs."

With the transition to the second phase, to communism proper, the world's capitalists have been deprived of power and liquidated as a class, but bourgeois ideology has not been eliminated. The tradition of bourgeois ideology will continue to influence the minds of people for a long time — not only because the capitalists as the carrier of this ideology live on for a period (they have been liquidated as a class, not as persons) and will always try to influence the masses ideologically, to spread bourgeois ideology in the two-line struggle, so as to gradually achieve a restoration of capitalism in this way.

The tradition of bourgeois ideology, which has dominated the intellectual life of men for centuries, is so strong that bourgeois ideas and habits spontaneously renew themselves over and over. The bureaucrats are seized and dominated by petty-bourgeois thinking most easily of all, and are subject the longest to the tradition of bourgeois ideology. "We can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a

complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of government" (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183).

Class struggle, therefore, will flare up again and again even though the bourgeois class as the former carriers of bourgeois ideology has been liquidated, that is, politically and militarily eliminated. **It is a class struggle of a peculiar kind**, which, in the main, can only be decided ideologically. It can only be successfully waged by the working class, as the carrier of socialist ideology, which still needs the dictatorship of the proletariat to accomplish this. So the dictatorship of the proletariat will continue in effect for a long time in the second phase, on the one hand to combat bourgeois ideology, which, as long as it can still operate, contains the seeds of the threat of the restoration of capitalism and must, therefore, constantly be suppressed, and, on the other hand, to spread and strengthen socialist ideology by constantly raising the socialist consciousness of the masses until final victory is achieved over bourgeois ideology.

Not until the masses have become completely immune to the poison of bourgeois ideology do the working class as the carrier of socialist ideology and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of the working class become superfluous. Both wither away. Classless society begins.

The Struggle to Overcome Bourgeois Law in Socialism

Socialism is the first stage of communism. It developed from the womb of the old society and is consequently fraught with vestiges of this old society. One of these vestiges is the narrow bourgeois view of legality. Lenin points to this in *The State and Revolution*:

> What is usually called socialism was termed by Marx the "first," or lower, phase of communist society. Insofar as the means of production become *common* property, the word "communism" is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is *not* complete communism. The great significance of Marx's explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, and regards communism as something which develops *out of* capitalism....
>
> In its first phase, or first stage, communism *cannot* as yet be fully

mature economically and entirely free from traditions or vestiges of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that communism in its first stage retains "the narrow horizon of *bourgeois* law". (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 475/476)

Whereas socialism gradually transfers all means of production to common property, and in this respect creates true equality in the spirit of the abolishment of classes, this true equality cannot yet exist in regard to the distribution of socially produced wealth. Consequently, in socialism the principle applies: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In other words, he who does not work, neither shall he eat! After the socially necessary deductions (for investment, public facilities, etc.) have been made, each individual producer gets back from society exactly what he has put in by his individual quantity of work. Equal right thus exists for all. But Marx says in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

Hence, *equal right* here is still in principle — *bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange only exists *on the average* and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still constantly stigmatized by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labor they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labor.

But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labor in the same time, or can labor for a longer time; and labor, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal* right is an unequal right for unequal labor. It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity as natural privileges. *It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right....* One worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, and so on and so forth. Thus, with an equal performance of labor, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist

society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 18/19)

The working class cannot yet be satisfied with this formal equality achieved in socialism, but must work towards the second phase of communism, where the principle will apply: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" — from formal to actual equality, therefore.

However, this higher phase of communist society has two elementary prerequisites, which are closely dependent upon each other: *first*, a high level of development of the productive forces and the attendant social wealth which permits satisfying the needs of all; and, *second*, highly developed socialist consciousness of the masses, for whom work is not only a means of subsistence but conscious effort for the common good of the whole of society.

How should the transition from socialism to communism be effected? The fundamental thing is to create the material prerequisites by developing the productive forces on a tremendous scale, for without ample social wealth, distribution according to needs remains utopian. "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby" (*ibid.*, p. 19). The question is therefore not *whether* but *how* and *in what direction* the productive forces should be developed in socialism. This issue, the motives and attitudes with which workers in socialism approach the modernization of production and the raising of labor productivity, distinguishes the socialist way from the capitalist way. Workers of the Hudung shipyards in Shanghai determined in 1972:

To build more and better ships, we need a large amount of funds. Where would we get them? Ours is a socialist country which does not exploit its people or plunder other countries; it increases accumulation by relying on the efforts of the entire people to increase production and practice economy....

When we stand on the bow of a 10,000-ton ship being launched, watching the fluttering red flags and the waves, we think not of how much our wages are, but of how to accelerate socialist construction and do a better job in socialist revolution with our own hands as our contribution to the emancipation of mankind. ("Essential Differences

Between the Two Systems of Distribution," in: *Peking Review* No. 32, 1972, pp. 7 and 8)

These words bring out the point that one of the main tasks of the phase of socialism is to educate the workers in the new, communist labor morale in order gradually to arrive at the communist principle of distribution, even though wage payment based on individual performance is retained as the main principle in this period. Bourgeois law, for example, in the form of wage systems with eight and more levels, must be restricted further and further in *quantitative* terms during the course of socialist construction. In this way the material and political conditions can be created for the new quality, for finally breaking open the "narrow horizon of bourgeois law."

The socialist principle of distribution "to each according to his work" is progressive compared to distribution in capitalist society, but backward compared to distribution in communist society. This contradiction determines its character: on the one hand, it prevents individuals or groups of workers from getting privileges which are not based on their amount of work, and, on the other hand, as in the old society, it maintains differences between wealthier and poorer workers — the seed for aspiring to the capitalist goal of working for one's own enrichment.

Revisionists like Deng Xiaoping take advantage of this intrinsic contradiction when, making false reference to the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," they reintroduce the bonus system. The essence of their method is precisely to conserve and expand the birthmarks of the old society contained in bourgeois law, in order to restore capitalism on this basis. In *Peking Review* No. 31, 1978, one could read the following capitalistic nonsense:

> The practice of more pay for more work and less pay for less work will certainly encourage laborers to work hard, diligently study and master science and technology, and strive to improve their skills. As a result they will create more wealth for the state and the collective. The bigger the contribution a laborer makes to the state or the collective, the more pay he will get. As the saying goes, there will be more in one's own bowl if the pot is full. (p. 13)

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the Chinese people under Mao Zedong 's leadership did away with such capitalist ideas and determined once and for all: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." The ideas of the Cultural Revolution gave rise to profound changes in city and country, as we shall see in the final chapter. But it was precisely these changes which stirred up the revisionists, who sought to destroy the achievements of the Cultural Revolution with a petty-bourgeois ideological-political line.

4. The Significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China

Defeat Wrong Ideas by Ideological Struggle, Awaken and Develop Socialist Consciousness

Each society is characterized by specific relations of production. A social superstructure rises above these relations of production: the state, ideology, culture and customs. Marxism-Leninism assumes that men's social being determines their consciousness, that the economic base determines the social superstructure.

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Marx: "Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," in Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 503)

At a certain stage of social development, a contradiction arises between the material productive forces and the relations of production. In the 19th century, advancing industrialization came into con-

tradiction with the still feudal relations of production. The bourgeois revolution took place, which also transformed the superstructure — the state apparatus, culture, and ideology — and the bourgeoisie established itself as the new ruling class. The "Declaration of Principle of the KABD" (the Communist Workers' League of Germany, the forerunner organization of the MLPD until 1982 - The Editors) said about the relations of production in state monopoly capitalism:

> While millions create the wealth of society, a small handful of monopoly capitalists and parasites appropriates this wealth. (page 9)

This contradiction between social production and private appropriation in capitalism, which becomes most acute in state monopoly capitalism, drives towards a solution: a social revolution takes place. In this revolution not only the relations of production, the economic base, are changed. The entire superstructure is transformed:

> With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. (Marx/Engels: *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 504)

Marx and Engels describe the character of the social revolution of the proletariat in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as follows:

> The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. (*ibid.*, p. 126)

The proletarian revolution therefore has two aspects: the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the changing of the consciousness of people. The bourgeois mode of thinking must be replaced by the proletarian, socialist mode of thinking.

The bourgeois revolution replaces the rule of one propertied class (the feudalists) by the rule of another propertied class (the capitalists) without touching private ownership of the means of production. In

the proletarian revolution, however, the propertyless class (the proletarians) transforms the private ownership of the means of production into social ownership. In the bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie asserts its class ideas over feudal ideology, and establishes them as the dominant bourgeois ideology (or it mixes them with feudal ideas and makes compromises on the ideological-political level if it shares power).

After the victory of the proletarian revolution, the proletariat must wage a stubborn ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology, which is still prevalent, in order to spread its own class ideas and to drive the old ideas out of the heads of people. This is a protracted class struggle in the ideological field.

> Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. (Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in: *Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 130)

This class struggle in the ideological field is waged as a struggle of the two lines, the struggle of the proletarian against the bourgeois line. Its aim is to overcome the bourgeois line and to assert the proletarian line. Only if the proletariat asserts itself in the ideological field, and exercises political leadership in all areas of socialist society can the socialist transformation of the economic base be carried out and consolidated.

The experience of the socialist revolution of the Soviet Union shows how important this ideological struggle is. This struggle was not systematically carried forward, and the right methods, that is, the mobilization of the broad masses of the people, were not used. This is why in the Soviet Union a new bourgeoisie could develop which restored capitalism.

Mao Zedong drew the lessons for the proletariat and systemati-

cally concluded: mobilize the masses to carry out a transforming proletarian cultural revolution. On the initiative of Mao Zedong and under his personal guidance, the proletarian core of the Communist Party, supported by young fighters, the Red Guards, started the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The 16-Point Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution said:

> The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper. (*ibid.*, p. 129)

In point 4 of this decision of August 8, 1966 the party members are called on to mobilize the masses :

> Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. **Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.**
>
> Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy. (*ibid.*, 138/139; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

The Cultural Revolution began in the superstructure, at the schools and universities of the country. The young people are educated there for the building of socialism. It is crucial for the proletariat to have control over education because it is there that the revolutionary successors are trained. It is of particular importance, therefore, to give them not only technical, specialized knowledge, but to train them comprehensively as socialist workers, which means to cultivate their socialist consciousness, particularly in the three great revolutionary movements:

> Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. (*Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, Beijing, 1972, p. 40)

Before the Cultural Revolution, this guideline of Mao Zedong was not followed in the field of education. Training was separated from production. The old Chinese system of examinations, from the time before liberation, survived in new forms: striving for good grades, the pressure of exams, tests in the manner of surprise attacks, and the selection of those candidates for the universities who were best able to assert themselves in this sort of climate. As a result, the children of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie were the most successful, they received the best grades, went on to the elite university and were trained to become experts. Although the children of workers were not excluded, they had great difficulties. At the universities of Shanghai and Peking, 60 percent of the students were children of the bourgeoisie.

In a book by Ch. Bettelheim about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (*China 1972: Ökonomie, Betrieb und Erziehung seit der Kulturrevolution* ["China 1972: Economy, Factory and Education since the Cultural Revolution"]; our translations from the German edition - The Editors), the worker Liu Minyi, leader of a propaganda group for the spreading of Mao Zedong Thought at the Tsinghua University in Peking, reports:

> They replaced Mao Zedong 's guidelines on education by Western educational systems — by the European and the American — and later on the Soviet system. They deformed the Party by incessantly admitting bourgeois and reactionary professors as members and thus transformed it into a "party of professors" which breathed academic authority. The result was: of the university Party committee's 39 seats, 15 seats were occupied by bourgeois professors. Not a single worker occupied one of the remaining 24 seats. While the country was ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat, Tsinghua University was under bourgeois rule. Yiang Nanxiang held both offices, that of university rector and Party secretary. In the ideological field, he wor-

shipped the individualistic theory of knowledge, which said things like "go to school to make a name for yourself," "leave school as an expert, a high-ranking personality who will hold high offices in the social hierarchy and will make a lot of money." (*ibid.*, pp. 100/101)

On May 25, 1966, the first so-called **Dazibao**, a big-character poster, appeared at the Tsinghua University, attacking the bourgeois conditions at Tsinghua and demanding an explanation from those who were responsible. Mao Zedong himself supported the Tsinghua rebels by his own big-character poster with the call to "bombard the bourgeois headquarters," meaning those leading cadres inside the Party who had sneaked into the Party and the government to support the interests of the bourgeoisie and the overthrown big landowners. They were called the capitalist-roaders in power, with Liu Shaoqi as their head. He formed the bourgeois headquarters inside the Party.

Liu Shaoqi tried by every means to contain the revolution at Tsinghua University. His people at the University, first of all the rector, dissolved the groups for the study of Mao Zedong Thought; the rebellious students and professors were denounced as trouble-makers, and threatened with expulsion from the Party. The students and professors were not intimidated by these measures of the rightists. They intensified their study of Mao Zedong Thought, and in debates they exposed the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. They followed Point 10 of the Decision of the Central Committee of August 8, 1966:

In this Great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn

other things. This is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, pp. 148/149; emphasis added by us - The Editors))

Rebels organized at the schools, too, in order to criticize the reactionary line in education, collectively to study Mao Zedong Thought and to expose the consequences of the bourgeois line at the schools. In all schools, groups of **Red Guards** were organized. They were vigorously supported by Mao Zedong. In a letter to the Red Guards he said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards

express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. **They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you.** (*ibid.*, p. 33; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

They left the schools and universities and went to the countryside and the factories to mobilize the poor peasants and workers to practice criticism. They spread the Red Book, the Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong, and helped people with the study of Mao Zedong Thought, working together with them in order to learn about their work and their lives.

The Swedish journalist Jan Myrdal visited and studied the people living in the little village of Liu Ling, for the first time in 1962, and later on in 1969, that is, before and after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He described the great changes in the consciousness of the masses and concretely proved the tremendous significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the class struggle during the phase of socialism. In his book, *China: The Revolution Continued* (New York, 1970), Jan Myrdal has a girl Red Guard tell about her work:

We criticized the wrong methods in our school. We sent out propaganda troops to discuss things with people. What we chiefly dis-

cussed was that class struggle continued under socialism. We pointed out the danger of various hostile elements digging themselves in in the state apparatus and of the dictatorship of the proletariat being turned into a bourgeois dictatorship. We pointed to the way things had gone in the Soviet Union. We propagated Mao Zedong Thought. We went out into the villages and straight into the administrative organs in town and started discussions....

After these journeys we went out into the factories to integrate ourselves with the masses. I went to the tractor station in Yenan. In the daytime I worked, and in the evenings I made revolution. (p. 176)

In the factories and in the country, the Red Guards were readily received by the workers and peasants, who saw their willingness to unite with the people and learn from them. Spreading Mao Zedong Thought in the whole country on an unprecedented scope enabled the poor peasants and workers to acquire an understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. They made it their guideline for political work and for their daily duties on the farms and in the factories. Jan Myrdal quotes Tung Yang-chen, the chairman of the labor group set up to do planning work in the village of Liu Ling, who reported about his work:

We study Mao Zedong Thought. My job is to lead these studies in the labor group, and then apply them in practice. First the entire brigade discusses the problems on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought, and then decides what's to be done. My labor group, of course, can't make decisions about the overall plan. That's something for everyone to decide. Nor can it be decided from above; it has to be decided from below. In our planning work we base our decisions on Chairman Mao. (*ibid.*, p. 63)

Thus the masses of the people studied Mao Zedong Thought, exposed the bourgeois line in their own field of work, and criticized those functionaries who had separated themselves from productive work and the lives of the masses, and who desired a bourgeois career. Not all functionaries were bad. The majority of them did not consciously follow the road to a restoration of capitalism. Those who did were very few. They were people like Liu Shaoqi.

This is why the leading functionaries were not simply removed

from office. They were criticized at many meetings. Together with the Red Guards, the workers and peasants helped them to understand their mistakes and to transform their political work and their relations with the masses, as is called for by the 16-Point Decision:

> What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in power taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 137)

The functionaries were reeducated in a campaign of "struggle — criticism — transformation" carried out all over the country, with the result that, after the great debates, a large part of them were able to do good work in their old functions. In Ch. Bettelheim's book, Shi Guoheng, professor of sociology at Tsinghua University, relates how the functionaries and professors, too, have learned from the workers:

> Feudalism and capitalism had great influence on me. After liberation, I overlooked my mistakes and imperfections. I did not take Mao Zedong Thought to remodel my world outlook. Under the influence of the revisionist line, I favored a conservative attitude, which helped the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. This corresponded to my ideological understanding. The Cultural Revolution thoroughly reeducated me.... I had to overcome many difficulties and contradictions in my farming work — why should I deny this? While I overcame them I transformed my world outlook. (Bettelheim, *China 1972*, p. 120)

Politics Must Take Precedence over Economics, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Must Exercise Leadership in Everything

In the course of the political struggle during the Cultural Revolution, new forms of political organization emerged. The workers and peasants as well as the revolutionary intellectuals had united in

many institutions and factories to build revolutionary committees. The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution confirms:

> Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.
>
> These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 146)

The revolutionary committees remained when the Cultural Revolution ended and were established in all institutions of socialist society: at schools and universities, but also at factories, mines, and other kinds of enterprises, in neighborhood districts and villages. Proposed by the Party, the members of the revolutionary committees were elected by people of the particular unit who could criticize them at any time, and in case of severe violations, could also dismiss them from their posts. They were accountable to the masses.

The revolutionary committees in the factories consisted mainly of workers. They took over the factories' administrative tasks as well as the management of production. Administration and management from then on were no longer a purely economic management which bowed to so-called economic constraints. In their practice, the revolutionary committees were guided by the spirit of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and by Mao Zedong Thought.

They were composed according to the principle of the three-in-one combination consisting of Party members, members of the People's Liberation Army and of mass organizations at the particular level. The People's Liberation Army was included in this three-in-one combination because it had advanced the process of struggle, criticism

and transformation everywhere and participated in productive work in industry and agriculture.

In the factories, the Cultural Revolution met with the fierce resistance of those experts and leading functionaries who followed the bourgeois, revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi in production. These functionaries saw the Cultural Revolution as something which was only damaging production.

When the workers criticized the one-sided concentration on production, the wage system with many levels, and the extensive system of incentives, the reactionaries used counterrevolutionary double tactics: in the beginning, they tried to win over the workers for their line, the bourgeois line, by higher wages and a complicated system of incentives and to create division among them. When the workers grasped the intention of these underhanded tactics, the reactionaries proceeded to attack them openly. They used the pending production tasks to pressure the revolutionary workers and branded them as saboteurs of production. Finally, as in Shanghai, they issued a call to interrupt production.

These activities, which were directed against the Cultural Revolution, had the single aim to keep the workers out of the management and administration of the factories and thereby to undermine the foundations of the socialist state, to undermine working class rule in all fields and over all organs. These capitalist-roaders in power turned the relation between revolution and production, between production and politics upside down.

In 1921, Lenin described the relation between production and politics in the pamphlet "Once Again on the Trade Unions":

> Politics is a concentrated expression of economics.... Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83)

The relation between production and politics is clearly defined here. If production is to serve the building of socialism and not serve a certain class to get rich, then proletarian politics, the interests of the working class, must be in command of production, and not vice versa.

Before the Cultural Revolution, in most factories production had priority. Most factories were organized along the lines of a Soviet constitution, that of the Iron and Steel Combine of Magnitogorsk. It was based on management principles which relied on the experts, gave priority to production, put profit above all, and exerted pressure on the workers by means of bonuses to attain an ever higher output. During the Cultural Revolution, in many factories a constitution was introduced which had been worked out by the workers of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company and published by Mao Zedong.

Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company

- **Keep politics firmly in command** and be guided in everything by Mao Zedong Thought; this is the soul of socialist factories.
- **Strengthen Party leadership**; this is a basic guarantee that the working class firmly exercises leadership in the factories and that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be consolidated.
- **Launch vigorous mass movements** and place your trust and confidence in the broad revolutionary masses; this is the source from which the socialist factories draw their strength to be victorious in the revolution and in the building of socialism.
- **Institute a system of cadre participation in productive labor and of worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close cooperation of the three-in-one combination of the masses of workers, leading cadres, and revolutionary technicians** — in the socialist factories, the introduction of this three-way alliance in a creative way solved the problems of the relations of the superstructure to the economic base, of the leadership to the masses, and of the relations among the masses themselves, and it gave an orientation to the management.
- **Go full steam ahead with technical innovations and technical revolution** — this principle shows how determined the Chinese worker is to be independent and to be his own master, to be self-reliant, to go his own way in developing industry, to catch up with the most advanced world level and to surpass it. The Chinese proletariat has not only gained the upper hand over the decadent Western bourgeoisie, it will also surpass it in the fields of science and technology and will render even greater services to mankind. (*Renmin Ribao* of March 24, 1970, quoted by Bettelheim, *China 1972*, pp. 68/69; our translation from the German - The Editors)

The introduction of the Constitution of Anshan in many factories was an expression of the fact that the proletariat again exercised leadership in production. The chairman of the revolutionary committee of the Peking General Knitwear Factory describes in an exemplary fashion how this developed:

> In the course of the Cultural Revolution we understood what it means to give top priority to proletarian politics. We have to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought conscientiously and in such a way that Mao Zedong Thought is put into practice in the work process. We insist on the necessity to give top priority to Mao Zedong Thought.... What the party committee really cared about was production only. The former secretary of the factory party committee used to be called by the workers "secretary of administration" and "secretary of production." He did not care about the leading role of the party. He did not regularly study the living thoughts of the masses of the people. Owing to the Cultural Revolution, the significance of this has become clear to us again. (Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, p. 72)

For the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is not alone decisive that the workers themselves exercise leadership in the factories and are in command of the management of production. The socialist economic base cannot be consolidated as long as the interests of the workers and peasants are not in command of politics in the superstructure, in administration, in government and party, in theater, press and culture.

We have seen above how bourgeois forces at the schools and universities tried to shape the education of the young people according to their own interests. Should this go on, it will inevitably turn against the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermine its foundations and thus also effect the socialist economic base, making it capitalist again. The development in the Soviet Union gives a warning example.

In China, too, there were only two roads for future development: either the bourgeois line in the superstructure is allowed to grow; bureaucratism, careerism, egoism and other manifestations of petty-bourgeois thinking spread, and a new bourgeois class forms from experts and functionaries who are under petty-bourgeois and partly

feudalistic influence — or the working class organizes control from below over the state, the Party, and the government and makes them serve the dictatorship of the proletariat again. In that case the workers have to dismiss those functionaries who want to take the capitalist road and reeducate those who accept the dictatorship of the proletariat, but are still dominated by petty-bourgeois thinking.

> The working class must exercise leadership in everything, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, to fulfill the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end! (Communique of the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in: *Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 189)

In the various factories, the revolutionary workers formed workers' propaganda teams which went to the different organs of government and the state apparatus as well as to other social institutions in order to exercise control in the interest of the working class, to uncover abuses and to educate the functionaries. Their tasks were as follows:

> As regards intellectuals, they must be reeducated by the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they can integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there **and will always lead these institutions.** In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class. (*ibid.*, p. 192/193, emphasis added by us - The Editors)

The worker Liu Minyi, leader of the propaganda team for the study of Mao Zedong Thought at Tsinghua University in Peking, described the work of this propaganda team:

> But we only came to understand the essence as the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation unfolded: the intellectuals are not able to push ahead the revolution in a decisive way by themselves.

> The working class must step in. Mao called on the workers to take the revolution in the field of education firmly into their hands.... Who transforms whom, and who is victorious over whom? The struggle of the two classes, the two lines and the two roads was sparked off by this question. The leadership of the working class has asserted itself in this struggle. The workers of the metal working factory New China, where I work, have united with the workers of more than 60 other factories and the People's Liberation Army. Together, we organized the propaganda teams for the study of Mao Zedong Thought. We marched into the university on July 27, 1968, 3,000 of us." (Bettelheim, *China 1972*, p. 108)

The Development of the Economic Base on the Basis of Ideological and Political Struggle

The Dialectical Unity of Theory and Practice Prevents the Separation of Science from Production

We know from our own experience the separation of science from production, of mental from manual labor, between research scientists and technicians on the one hand and workers on the other. The former do the constructing, they manage and lead. The latter carry out instructions; they make the products, often just by simple, routine operations (assembly line).

The consequence of this separation is that the valuable experience of the workers, gained directly by their productive labor, rarely enters into the further development of technique and machinery. When a worker makes a suggestion for improvement, he receives a modest recognition, but the capitalist appropriates this invention and sees to it that his scientists and engineers utilize it in production. Sometimes, valuable inventions are locked away if the capitalists make maximum profit with the old method, too.

At the same time, the technical people accumulate vast knowledge which they keep to themselves and withhold from the workers. This contradiction in production has social consequences: the technicians and scientists get far better pay than the production workers.

The same development threatened in China's factories. It jeopardized the socialist economic base, the social ownership of the means

of production, because the further removed the technicians and scientists were from direct productive labor, the less they worked for the revolution. Working for their own well-being became their main concern, and the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking became dominant.

During the Cultural Revolution, three-in-one combinations of workers, technicians and Party cadres were formed to study concrete problems in production and to advance technology together.

In capitalism, a technical innovation, a rationalization is not introduced to make work easier for the workers (sometimes, heavy physical labor is made easier, but the nervous strain is increased at the same time). Rather, improved technology accelerates production in order to increase the capitalist's profit.

In socialism, rationalization is carried out to serve the workers and generally to improve the quantity and quality of the products. The **three-in-one combinations** were especially dedicated to this task.

At the same time, the separation of theory from practice is overcome: the workers acquire technical and scientific knowledge by their study of production and in the course of introducing new products; the technicians learn to include the experience of the workers and not just to go from the requirements of production. In this way, the interrelations between mental and manual labor, between theory and practice form a dialectical unity. A scientific employee of the Shanghai Iron and Steel Institute describes the immediate consequences:

> In 1965, before the Cultural Revolution, I worked in a factory ... to separate nickel and cobalt. I relied on the experts only. At that time I did not want to learn side by side with the workers, and I was not interested in their political experience. (This is an example of the separation of theory from practice.) All I relied on was the American and Soviet technical data.... I gave the advice to use a certain solvent. The workers said this solvent was detrimental to health and smelled bad. They spoke up against using it, but I did not want to listen to them. The result was that some workers had symptoms of chronic poisoning.
>
> In the Cultural Revolution, I learned side by side with the workers and soldiers.... The more experienced workers pointed out to me a

strange phenomenon in their work which was not mentioned in the foreign books. We decided to study it and to make experiments. We came upon a new technique which made it possible to stop the use of the dangerous solvent within twenty days. The new solvent was not poisonous and much more effective than the old one. (Bettelheim, *China 1972*, p. 131)

While the capitalist-roaders in power, people of the likes of Liu Shaoqi, clamored that the revolution was hampering production or even making it impossible, economic development in China after the Cultural Revolution proved the exact opposite. The IXth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China was able to declare already in 1969:

Our country has seen good harvests in agricultural production for years running and there is also a thriving situation in industrial production and science and technology. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working people both in revolution and production has soared to unprecedented heights. Many factories, mines and other enterprises have time and again topped their production records, creating all-time highs in production. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 58/59)

In the following years, too, the national economy continued to grow by leaps and bounds. Table 13 shows how the production of steel, petroleum and artificial fertilizer developed, as well as the total economic output.

In the year 1971, the People's Republic of China had a higher growth rate of total agricultural and industrial production than the industrial nations listed below:

China 10 percent	—	Japan	6.1 percent
		Soviet Union	6.0 percent
		U.S.A.	2.7 percent

In his book *China Since Mao*, Ch. Bettelheim pointed out some production figures to oppose the claim of the new Chinese leadership that it was necessary to "put an end to the protracted stagnation and

TABLE 13
Production of Steel, Oil and Artificial Fertilizer in millions of tons

	1950	1958	1970	1971
Steel	0.6	8.0	18.0	21.0
Oil	0.2	2.264	20.0	25.6
Artificial Fertilizer	0.07	0.81	14.0	16.84
Total Production in billions Yuan		184.1	283.0	311.3

Source: Cheung-Lieh Yu, *Der Doppelcharakter des Sozialismus* ("The Dual Character of Socialism"), Berlin 1975, p. 47

even regression in the country's economy." He makes the following observation:

> This "argument" is a flagrant falsehood. *There has been no protracted stagnation or regression in the country's economy.* Between 1965, the last year before the Cultural Revolution, and the most recent years for which we have estimates, there was no stagnation. Production of electric power increased from 42 to 108 billion kwh (in 1974), production of steel from 12.5 to 32.8 million tons (in 1974), of coal from 220 to 389 million tons (in 1974), and of oil from 10.8 to between 75 and 80 million tons (in 1975). To speak of a *protracted* period of stagnation, and even of regression, is in complete conflict with reality, and is aimed merely at slandering the Cultural Revolution itself. (p. 77)

We want to add to these figures some information given by the organ of the German steel concerns, *Eisen und Stahl*: China took seventh place in world steel production in 1970, and fifth place in 1975 (see table 14 on next page).

Particularly, when we compare China with developing countries like India and Brazil, the economic upswing of China becomes clear.

TABLE 14

Steel Production of Some Important Countries of the World (in thousands of tons)

	1970	1975		1970	1975
U.S.A.	122,120	108,250	France	23,773	21,530
U.S.S.R.	115,889	141,325	China	18,000	24,000
Japan	93,322	102,313	Australia	6,909	7,869
West Germany	45,041	40,415	India	6,271	7,989
England	28,316	20,105	Brazil	5,390	8,308

Source: *Eisen und Stahl*, No. 3, 1977, pp. 66/67

The point is the tendency of steel production, and not that steel production is still relatively small for a large country such as China. Since the Cultural Revolution, from 1967 to 1976, the production of raw steel in the People's Republic rose from 14 to 26 million tons, an increase of 85.7 percent.

Such growth is the result of the spreading and deepening of socialist consciousness among steel workers. Let us see what the Workers' Writing Group of the Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant wrote about this development:

> Just from looking at the profound changes in our plant since the Great Cultural Revolution began, we workers rejoice from the bottom of our hearts. Ours is a plant set up in the big leap forward year of 1958 to make special steel. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we members of the working class, in the revolutionary spirit of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," finished building a big converter shop in 32 days. By 1960, our plant had produced over 50 times as much steel as in 1958 and varieties exceeded 200. Then, in 1962-65, steel output plummeted due to interference and sabotage by Liu Shaoqi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. This revisionist line was criticized and repudiated during the Great Cultural Revolution

and the enterprise once again returned to the socialist orientation so that its leadership firmly rested in the hands of the proletariat. Since then, the situation in both revolution and production has become better and better. (*Peking Review* No. 24, 1974, pp. 6/7)

The gross output of the mechanical engineering industry doubled from 1965 to 1973; the production of tractors was five times higher than in 1965. The energy supply also rose considerably. The production of electric power in 1973 was 140 percent higher than in 1965. In the countryside, China possessed 50,000 small hydroelectric power stations in 1973 (for a comparison: 26 in 1949); the supply of rural regions with electric power had increased in 1973 by 330 percent compared to 1965.

In socialism, the first phase of communism, the principle of distribution is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." There are still differences among people which have to do with the different payment they receive for their work. It is still necessary to have distribution according to an individual's performance, because in this first phase there is not yet an abundance of products in society.

The decisive condition for this principle of distribution is the different attitudes that people in a socialist society still have towards work. Work for the common good, for the building of socialism and communism, has become a primary need only for a small part of the people. This is the most advanced part, those who are filled with socialist consciousness, who are not primarily concerned about the correct payment when they do a job, but who subordinate their individual material interests to the universal interests of the revolution.

The masses created their own methods of evaluating performance and payment during the Cultural Revolution. Even in agriculture, material incentives as a motivating force for production were replaced by new methods. Myrdal tells about the village Liu Ling:

Formerly each item of work, each task, had been attributed a certain value. So or so many work days' pay for each job. During the years 1963-65 this system had tended to develop into piece-work.

It had led to certain tasks being individually profitable, others less so. Those who managed the work were also in a position — by dis-

tributing the work — to affect the incomes of individual members of the brigade....

"What happened was that work came to be evaluated by a small group of leading cadres, who also distributed the work. And that was bad. As there was a bonus paid when the planned production was exceeded, people were enticed to lower the planned goals for production.... This caused a heavy damage to our economy. It undermined our economy. The investments were made according to the planned production. Thus certain people could get out money for themselves that in reality ought to have gone to absolutely necessary investments.

"This was unfair. Even though everybody worked, some people got higher incomes and some were getting ever less. Everybody worked for himself." (*China: The Revolution Continued*, pp. 81/82)

Didn't the Soviet Union go off in a similar direction, before, as an unavoidable consequence, the restoration of capitalism succeeded there? How did the peasants in Liu Ling change this system? Myrdal continues:

The basis of the new system of income distribution, introduced now, was that all members, whether working or not, should enjoy basic security in the form of grain. Income from work was additional to this basic security.

After these discussions, however, all forms of piece-work were abolished. Therefore no accounts were kept of what work had been done by whom or of individual performance. Only daily work-attendance was recorded. This meant that whether one was chosen to do this job or that job made no difference to one's income. Whether one dug or harvested, fetched manure from town or worked at the noodle factory, the day's work had the same value.

This also made it possible to do away with most bookkeeping work — thus releasing more labor for production.

But, of course, people work differently. And attitudes to work vary. One person's working day is not the same as another's. This had to be taken into account.

Thus everyone's individual working capacity was evaluated at the annual meeting. This evaluation took into account not merely physical strength, but also other factors: their experience, thriftiness with the collective property, political awareness. The evaluation was not made by any committee or group of experts. At the annual meeting

each person got up and said what he thought his own day's work was worth: 7 work-points, 9 work-points. After which the meeting discussed the accuracy of this assessment and then decided what that member's day's work was in fact to be worth. (pp. 83 and 104)

But if this system of income distribution was to be carried through in practice, it was vital that the members should be conscious that they were working for the common good. Only when they put politics first could work be remunerated in this way.

The prevailing opinion in Liu Ling was that the system had shown itself capable of working. It simply wasn't true, as Liu Shao-ch'i had maintained, that each man has to work for himself. People didn't grow "lazier" just because no one was measuring how much they'd done, hour by hour. No one stayed away from the heavy construction work just because he could "earn as much" by pushing a dung-cart. Those who had uttered warnings against people's "innate laziness and egoism" had been proved wrong. (p. 105)

In continuing the revolution and building socialism it is vital to gradually overcome the differences in the distribution of the material products of socialism by developing socialist consciousness.

What Myrdal relates to us in his concrete example of agriculture before the Cultural Revolution could also be seen in industry. The situation was even more complicated there. In his book *China 1972*, Bettelheim has the deputy director of the Peking General Knitwear Factory report about the situation on August 15, 1971:

Before the Cultural Revolution I was assistant director of this factory; in this capacity I implemented the revisionist line. I did not understand what was meant by putting proletarian politics in command, nor did I understand that there were two headquarters within the party. I concentrated on production and technology. I demanded that the workers devote themselves to production — production, production, always production. When the workers failed to fulfill the plan, they were offered material incentives, bonuses. In the old days there were twenty-eight different kinds of bonuses — monthly, quarterly, annual bonuses for those who exceeded the established norms, bonuses for quality work.... There were also bonuses for those who devoted themselves entirely to their work, without thinking of anything else, without thinking of moving elsewhere. We had some workers from Shanghai who were always thinking of their native

province. To keep them quiet and tied to their jobs, we gave them bonuses. (English translation quoted from: Ch. Bettelheim: *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China*, N.Y., 1974, p. 18)

This nonsense of bonuses was done away with in the Cultural Revolution, yet eight wage levels remained. The most important thing was the ideological-political aspect, however, which the industrial workers tackled in a principled way. The report of the Workers' Writing Group of the Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant tells us:

> Chairman Mao teaches us that, in socialist society, there are both harmony and contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base. He pointed out: "But survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base." The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further consolidated and developed the socialist economic base and brought the socialist relations of production to greater perfection; the Party's centralized leadership has been strengthened and the various principles of the proletarian way of running enterprises are being put into practice. The result is that we workers have never been so militant and daring as today. And this has greatly promoted the development of production. (*Peking Review* No. 24, 1974, p. 8)

After Mao Zedong 's death, the new Chinese leadership takes the position that economics must have primacy over politics. New China News Agency asserted on 21 September 1977:

> In the final analysis, the decisive factor for social progress is the economic base, and the productive forces are the most active and revolutionary factor of the economic base. This is why in the long run the productive forces will determine the relations of production.

We want to counter this with Lenin, who in his article "Once Again on the Trade Unions" emphatically took a position contrary to the ideas of Trotsky and Bucharin:

> Without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, *and, consequently,* will be incapable of

solving *its production problem* either. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 84)

The new Chinese leadership discards these principles of Marxism-Leninism. What they are preaching is sheer economism. They introduce material incentives to improve production, thus engendering egoism and careerism among the workers and peasants and undermining the socialist consciousness of the masses. They abolish the principle of "building socialism based on self-reliance" by taking billions of Marks in loans from the German monopolies, creating a huge debt and obligating themselves to export to be able to service the debt.

Educating and improving socialist consciousness is replaced by corruption through material goods. As a result, the law of productivity in socialism is replaced by the capitalist law of productivity. Let us compare the two laws of productivity once again. It becomes clear what direction China is now taking:

> **The increase of labor productivity in capitalism** is based on the striving of the capitalists for maximum profits, which are obtained by the development of technology in conjunction with increased intensity of labor, the latter being achieved by material incentives and pressure applied in various ways. In short: securing of maximum profits through increased exploitation of labor.
>
> **The increase of labor productivity in socialism** is based on the endeavor to satisfy and raise the material and cultural needs of society as a whole, which is accomplished by constantly improving the level of technology in conjunction with expanding and deepening socialist consciousness as the motivation for work. In short: satisfaction of the growing needs of all working people by highly developed technology in conjunction with the socialist consciousness of the masses. (REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 8, page 124 of this book.)

The method of material incentives brings forth individualism and does not improve socialist consciousness, but divides people into rivals who compete against each other for the biggest bonuses. The consequence is that people take over capitalist ideals like personal enrichment, egoism, and pursuit of profit. Phenomena such as the private appropriation of collective property, speculation, embezzle-

ment, corruption, theft, and bribery will spread, just as they did in the Soviet Union after the restoration of capitalism.

The leadership in China under Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping has left the ideological-political line of Mao Zedong and is systematically reversing the results of the Cultural Revolution. We must keep in mind the significance of the Cultural Revolution and defend its principles.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is:

1. the *highest form of class struggle* in socialist society;
2. the awakening and rapid *development of socialist consciousness in the masses* by means of criticism and self-criticism and by studying and, at the same time, putting into practice Mao Zedong Thought;
3. the concrete form of *exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat* to prevent the bureaucratization of the Party, the government and management apparatus (against capitalist-roaders in power);
4. the building of an ideological-political barrier *against the danger of capitalist restoration.*

The concept of the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of class struggle in socialism. This class struggle manifests itself as a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the sharpest control over the bureaucracy, which is guided by petty-bourgeois thinking that is spontaneously generated again and again by the tradition of bourgeois ideology. Therefore, the bureaucracy endeavors to separate itself from the masses, to look down on them and ignore them.

This bureaucracy systematically develops into a new class which takes the capitalist road and gives rise to the danger of a capitalist restoration. At that point the danger will have to be eliminated once more by a new Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao Zedong pointed to this, admonishing:

> The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. Let no one in the Party or among the

people in our country think that everything will be all right after one or two cultural revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance. (*Renmin Ribao* of May 23, 1967; quoted in J. Myrdal, *China: The Revolution Continued*, p. 192)

There is only one alternative:
Either Proletarian Cultural Revolution or —
restoration of capitalism!

(First published in Revolutionärer Weg No. 19, *Der staatsmonopolistische Kapitalismus in der BRD, Part IV*, 1979)

V

The Soviet Union — The Social-Imperialist Superpower

1. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and its European Parallel

The danger of an American invasion of Cuba has existed since the victory of the Cuban revolution in early 1959. From 1960 on, tensions rose between Cuba and the U.S.A. due to the expropriation of American property in Cuba, which prompted the American government to break off diplomatic relations in January, 1961. In April of that same year a force of Cuban exiles, with the approval of the U.S. imperialists, undertook the Bay of Pigs operation to seize Cuba. The invasion failed, but that did not mean there was no more danger of an attack, which became all the more probable when Cuba was excluded from membership in the Organization of American States (OAS) in January of 1962 at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists.

It goes without saying that Cuba had to prepare itself militarily for a new invasion. The country received financial, economic and military aid and diplomatic support from the Soviet Union. Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban revolution and prime minister, brought in numerous technical and military advisors from the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries. The only question was how, and on what scope, military aid could be provided without provoking the U.S.A. In the March 30, 1963, letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China we read:

> By virtue of its predatory nature imperialism cannot get rid of the desire to solve contradictions in the international arena by means of war. But on the other hand it cannot unleash a world thermonuclear

war without realizing that it will thereby place itself in danger of being destroyed. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 505)

This is only partly correct, because in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 the U.S. imperialists were prepared to unleash a nuclear war. This is even admitted in the "Open Letter" of July 14, 1963, from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to all Party organizations, to all Communists of the Soviet Union, in which it was said:

> It was a sharp international crisis: never before had mankind come so close to the brink of thermonuclear war as it did last October....
>
> Inasmuch as it was not merely a conflict between the United States and Cuba, but a clash between the two major nuclear powers, the Caribbean crisis would have developed into a world crisis. There was a real danger of world thermonuclear war. (*ibid.*, pp. 547 and 548)

What brought about the Cuban missile crisis in the autumn of 1962, and how could it have come to a head so quickly and dramatically? The U.S. President at that time, J.F. Kennedy, warned the Soviet Union in September about building up a military base in Cuba. The crisis began on October 22, when Kennedy issued a statement on the stationing of Soviet missile launchers in Cuba. American reconnaissance aircraft had photographed their location. Kennedy declared the stationing of intermediate-range missiles a threat to peace and demanded their immediate withdrawal under international control. He imposed a naval blockade on Cuba to prevent further deliveries. But he left the door open for coming to an agreement.

As *quid pro quo*, Khrushchov tried to get the U.S.A. to renounce any intention to invade Cuba and to withdraw American intermediate-range ballistic missiles from Turkey. But in view of the determination demonstrated by U.S. imperialism, he backed down and gave orders to remove the Soviet missiles. In defense of his politics he declared in a report to the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962 (shortly after the Cuban missile crisis):

> It is, of course, true that the nature of imperialism has not changed. But imperialism today is no longer what it used to be when it held undivided sway over the world. If it is now a "paper tiger," those

who say this know that this "paper tiger" has atomic teeth. It can use them and it **must not be treated lightly**. It is possible in the relations with imperialist countries to make reciprocal compromises, while, on the other hand, having all the means to smash the aggressors should they unleash war. (Emphasis ours. - The Editors)

And yet precisely the Cuban missile crisis proves that the Soviet Union — a social-imperialist superpower since the end of the fifties — "treated it lightly" and brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. Concerning the Chinese accusation of adventurism, the "Open Letter" of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. said:

> The Chinese comrades claim that in the period of the Caribbean crisis we made an "adventuristic" mistake by supplying rockets to Cuba and then "capitulated" to American imperialism when we withdrew the rockets from Cuba.
>
> **Such assertions utterly contradict the facts.**
>
> How did things actually stand? The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government had reliable information that United States imperialism was about to launch armed aggression against Cuba....
>
> Proceeding from the need to defend the Cuban revolution, the Soviet government and the government of Cuba reached agreement on the stationing of missiles on Cuba, **since this was the only realistic means of preventing American imperialist aggression**. The delivery of missiles to Cuba signified that an attack on her would meet with a resolute rebuff, **with the employment of rocket weapons against the organizers of the aggression**. This resolute step on the part of the Soviet Union and Cuba came as a shock to the American imperialists — for the first time in history they were made to feel that an armed attack on Cuba would be answered by a smashing blow at their own territory....
>
> There were two possibilities in the prevailing situation: either to fall in with the "wildmen" (the appellation of the most aggressive and reactionary representatives of American imperialism) and follow a path that would unleash a world thermonuclear war, or, using the opportunities offered by the delivery of missiles, to take all measures to reach agreement on peaceful settlement of the crisis and prevent aggression against the Cuban Republic.
>
> We chose, as is known, the second path and we are convinced that we acted rightly. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, pp. 547 and 548)

It can be gathered from this that, first of all, the Soviet Union had stationed ballistic missiles with atomic warheads in Cuba, or that such bases were under construction, and, secondly, that these nuclear missiles were to be used to strike a "smashing blow" against the territory of the U.S. in the event of an invasion of Cuba (possibly carried out by Cuban exiles again). *But that would mean that the Soviet Union would have been first to start a thermonuclear war,* even if the cause, the aggression against Cuba, would have been the American invasion. It is two different things, though, to use conventional weapons to counter an invader employing conventional weapons, or to use nuclear weapons. Khrushchov obviously had not anticipated U.S. imperialism's massive response. Consequently, the entire plan was irresponsible and adventurist.

When American spy planes discovered the construction of missile bases in Cuba, Kennedy took measures in three stages:

1. Naval blockade of Cuba and search of vessels approaching Cuba.

2. Mobilization of additional forces and standby alert for all American bases in the world.

3. Preparations for use of atomic bombs.

The world thus stood at the brink of nuclear war. If the stationing of nuclear missiles in Cuba (in Soviet military bases) had been an adventurist error, now, if a nuclear war was to be (and had to be) avoided, the only option left was withdrawal, that is, dismantling the missiles and removing them from Cuba. To save face, Khrushchov made the following proposal in his first letter to Kennedy on October 27, 1962:

> We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey. Let us agree on the term which is necessary for you and for us to carry this out. ("Dokumente der Zeitschrift *Sowjetunion heute,*" November 7, 1962)

Kennedy ignored this in his reply of October 27, 1962, and merely declared that there would be no invasion of Cuba. Khrushchov's message to Kennedy on the next day was the capitulation:

> Mr. President, I would like to reiterate, clearly and unequivocally, that we could not remain indifferent to that [to the threatening invasion of Cuba - The Editors]. Hence, the Soviet government decided to render assistance to Cuba with means of defense against aggression — only with means for defense purposes. We delivered to Cuba means of defense which you describe as offensive means. We supplied them to prevent an attack on Cuba to prevent rash acts. The statement in your message of October 27, 1962, that no attacks will be made on Cuba, that there will be no invasion, either by the United States or, as said in the same message, by other countries of the Western hemisphere, has inspired me with respect and confidence. This removes the reasons which caused us to supply Cuba such aid. Therefore, we have given our officers (these means are in the hands of Soviet officers, as I already informed you) instructions to take measures to stop construction work on the objects mentioned and to dismantle and return them to the Soviet Union. (*ibid.*)

The U.S. government had by no means taken on a commitment to make no invasion of Cuba and to keep its allies from making an invasion. It was thus entirely justified when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China accused the adventurists and capitulationists in the Kremlin of trying to force people to believe American promises which in reality did not even exist.

The revisionist leaders of the C.P.S.U. vainly tried to defend themselves against this accusation in their "Open Letter" of July, 1963. They pointed out that the U.S. government had kept its word in the eight months since the Cuban missile crisis and had made no invasion of Cuba. To remove the stigma of capitulationism they added:

> But it should also be remembered that we have undertaken an obligation to the Cuban people too: if the United States imperialists do not keep their promise and invade Cuba, we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people. **Every sensible person realizes that in the event of an American imperialist invasion, we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people from Soviet territory, just as we would have helped them from Cuban territory. True, in that case**

the rockets would be in flight slightly longer, but their precision would not be impaired. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 550)

Whereas previously the stationing of nuclear missiles in Cuba was supposedly "the only realistic means of preventing American imperialist aggression," now all at once it was equally possible "from Soviet territory." Why in all the world did they station missiles in Cuba then? There is no other explanation but the adventurism of the Soviet leaders, which is the expression of their social-imperialist quest for power.

In this connection the testimony of John J. McCloy, who was U.S. High Commissioner for Germany from 1949 to 1952 and became special advisor to President Kennedy in 1961, is very informative. Asked about the turning point of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis in an interview with journalist Lothar Loewe, broadcast on July 10, 1981, in West German Television's third program, McCloy said he had been called to the President at that time:

> I was tasked with negotiating the details of the withdrawal of the Soviet missiles in Cuba with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov.
>
> **Question:** How close were we to World War III during the Cuban missile crisis?
>
> **Answer:** As my friend Dean Rusk, then Secretary of State, put it; we were eyeball to eyeball, and the atmosphere was extremely tense. We had no idea whether or not a nuclear war would break out the next morning. So tense was the situation.
>
> **Question:** During the negotiations on the removal of the missiles from Cuba, the Soviet diplomat Kuznetsov supposedly told you that they would never put up with anything like this again.
>
> **Answer:** As far as I remember — it was a long time ago and I can't remember his exact words — he said something like this: Mr. McCloy, we will abide by this agreement. If you find that we are not abiding by it, tell me, and we will set things right. After I explained our thoughts on the missile withdrawal to him — we wanted to be sure that just as many missiles left as had come — he said they would keep to this agreement, but they would never allow themselves to be maneuvered into a situation like this again.... The really serious problems, he said, would come up in the Middle East.... From his view-

point the danger of nuclear war was perhaps much greater there than anyplace else. (*Frankfurter Rundschau* of 11 August 1981)

Is there a European parallel to the cause of the Cuban missile crisis? Retired Major General Gert Bastian, one of the initiators of the "Krefeld Appeal," pointed out the connection in a letter to Federal Minister of Defense Apel on January 16, 1980:

The superpowers thus have always dealt carefully with this equality of opportunity, which has additionally been cemented by SALT I and II. How wise they were to do so is convincingly proven by the determination with which President Kennedy reacted in 1962 to the sole exception until now, namely, the intention of the Soviets to station intermediate-range missiles in Cuba, which threatened the U.S.A.

By renouncing this intention, which understandably was considered an unacceptable provocation by the U.S.A., the Soviet Union at that time presumably spared the world the step from cold to hot war.

And now today the same Soviet Union is not supposed to consider it a challenge for the U.S.A. to station medium-range nuclear weapons within reach of their vital centers? Is it supposed to react matter-of-factly to an emerging U.S. capability to cause destruction of strategic significance in the western U.S.S.R. with this nuclear potential, while reducing early warning time to one fifth? Is it even supposed to view NATO's decision to station as an incentive to reduce its own arsenals?

Precisely this non-logic is favored by the formula 'arm and counter-arm,' which is inappropriate because it sets off capabilities and threats of different qualities against each other; is abetted by the misleading assertion that renouncing American missiles in Europe would amount to a step towards capitulation, as could be heard recently from formerly highest-ranking soldiers of the German Federal Army.

The truth could hardly have been distorted more. Because it is obvious, on the contrary, that the presence of such a great nuclear potential on Dutch, Belgian and even German soil must, far more urgently than any other threat, raise the question in the Soviet Union whether, in the event the situation develops so that peace is endangered, one is not practically forced to remove this risk by preventive nuclear attack, which, considering the small size of the stationing area, should be anything but impossible. (Karl D. Bredthauer/Klaus Mannhardt, *Es geht ums Überleben*, pp. 20/21)

Isn't NATO's so-called decision to "counter"-arm — in reality a decision to add to its arms with intermediate range nuclear missiles and long-range cruise missiles of pinpoint accuracy — a European parallel to the planned nuclear missile base in Cuba, and of even greater dimensions? The envisaged 108 American medium-range Pershing II missiles are all destined to be stationed in the F.R.G. Of a total of 464 land-based cruise missiles, 96 will be stationed in the F.R.G. This will make the F.R.G. the country with the highest nuclear weapons density in 1983 (see figure 4). This is a dangerous challenge to the Soviet nuclear power by the U.S. nuclear power.

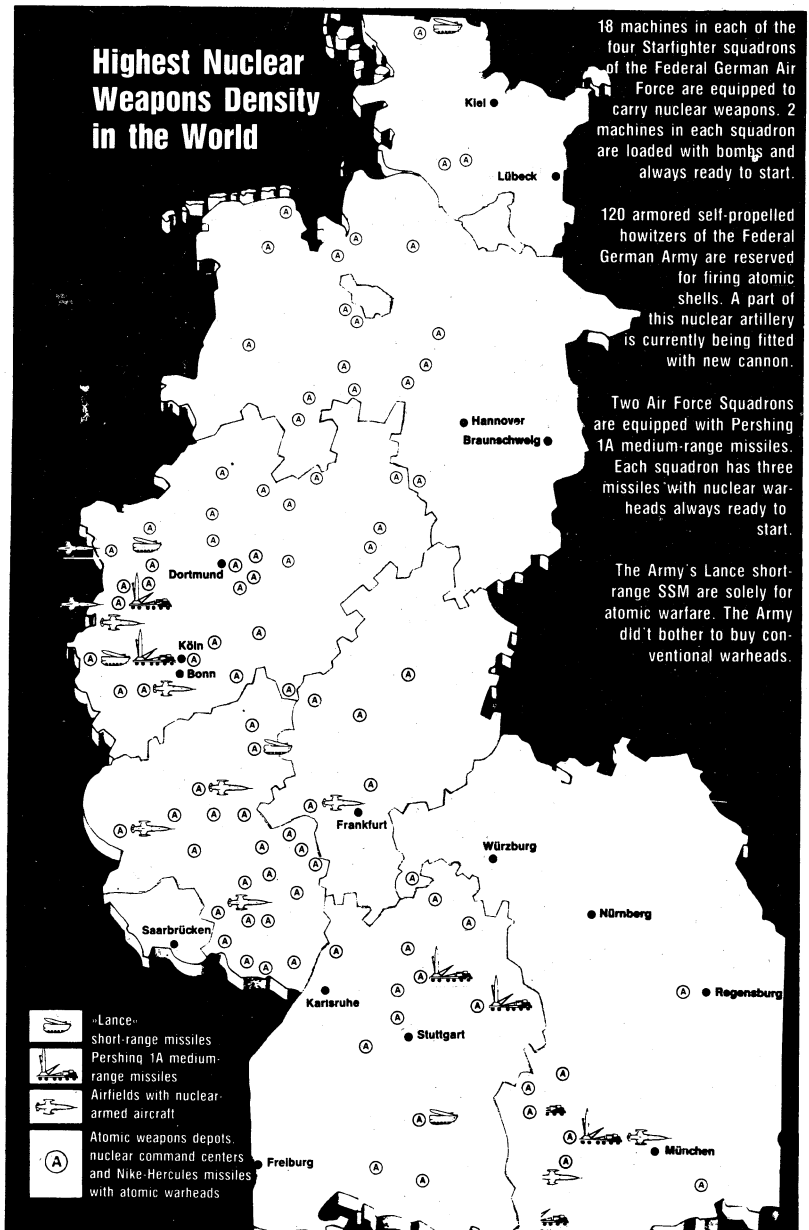
The U.S. imperialists dream of a nuclear war which could be limited to Europe, and President Reagan even blabbed this out. At a press conference on October 17, 1981, the U.S. President was asked this question:

> Do you feel that a limited nuclear exchange between us and the Soviet Union could take place, or do you think things would simply, and inevitably, escalate?" Reagan's reply began with the words, "I honestly don't know." Then the President said, "But I could imagine that there might be an exchange involving tactical weapons, nuclear weapons, without bringing one of the two superpowers to push the button. (*Frankfurter Rundschau* of 19 October 1981)

This is a reasonably clear answer. But such thoughts contain a dangerous error: Kennedy had his finger on the button to launch a nuclear war, but did not push it. The social-imperialists will push it as soon as the atomic weapons in Europe go into action. The U.S.A. will not come out unscathed — there is no limited nuclear war. One thing is certain at any rate: the F.R.G. as the largest platform for nuclear weapons will then be destroyed, will cease to exist. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 19 October 1981 commented on Reagan's remark with the words:

> The peace movement in Germany and elsewhere in Europe should be thankful to Reagan for the almost naive candor with which he reassures his countrymen. Many of the doubters have long been arguing in a similar way, except that they have been repeatedly brushed aside by politicians and experts or palmed off with empty phrases.

Figure 4


Highest Nuclear Weapons Density in the World
18 machines in each of the four Starfighter squadrons of the Federal German Air Force are equipped to carry nuclear weapons. 2 machines in each squadron are loaded with bombs and always ready to start.
120 armored self-propelled howitzers of the Federal German Army are reserved for firing atomic shells. A part of this nuclear artillery is currently being fitted with new cannon.
Two Air Force Squadrons are equipped with Pershing 1A medium-range missiles. Each squadron has three missiles with nuclear warheads always ready to start.
The Army's Lance short-range SSM are solely for atomic warfare. The Army did't bother to buy conventional warheads.
Kiel
Lübeck
Hannover
Braunschweig
Dortmund
Köln
Bonn
Frankfurt
Würzburg
Nürnberg
Saarbrücken
Karlsruhe
Stuttgart
Regensburg
München
Freiburg
«Lance» short-range missiles
Pershing 1A medium-range missiles
Airfields with nuclear-armed aircraft
Atomic weapons depots, nuclear command centers and Nike-Hercules missiles with atomic warheads

In the struggle to preserve world peace the **main thrust** of the peace movement must be directed against the stationing of U.S. intermediate range missiles, because this acutely gives rise to the danger of triggering a nuclear World War III.

In the fight against the threat of war, the West German working people must simultaneously zero in on New German imperialism as their **main enemy**. It was Chancellor Schmidt who in 1977 pointed out the "imbalance" in the area of Eurostrategic weaponry in a speech to the London Institute for Strategic Studies and demanded that the West do something about this. It is Chancellor Kohl who campaigns for election on this issue and gives guarantees in the U.S.A. that the missiles will be stationed. They long for the missiles to be stationed, on the one hand to get hold of the most up-to-date nuclear weapons, and on the other hand to take advantage of a possible first strike by the U.S.A. in line with New German imperialism's own strategic objectives — an insane notion.

The plans for a nuclear war limited to Europe come from the U.S. Thus, in the balance between the preparations for war of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the scales currently tip towards the U.S.A. and NATO.

The plan to make Europe the theater of limited nuclear war must be prevented. Europe and its population, its economy and its culture must not be exposed to destruction.

For a Europe free of nuclear weapons from the Urals to the Atlantic!

Disband NATO and the Warsaw Pact!

2. The Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968

On the night of 20/21 August 1968, troops of the Soviet Union, the PR Poland, the G.D.R., the PR Hungary and the PR Bulgaria, under the supreme command of Soviet deputy minister of defense, General Ivan Pavlovski, invaded the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Public buildings were occupied, the leaders of the Czechoslovakian party and state were arrested, some 50 people were killed and over 500 wounded. With this aggressive and bloody act, the

social-imperialists stifled the attempt by the revisionist Dubcek group (Dubcek was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at the time) to ease the political and economic dependence of their country on the Soviet Union and move closer to the imperialists of the U.S.A. and West Germany.

The Czechoslovakian government raised sharpest protest and made the following statement on August 21:

> Czechoslovakia was occupied today by troops of five countries of the Warsaw Pact against the will of the government, the National Assembly and the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and against the will of her people....
>
> The government directs this appeal to all citizens:
>
> 1. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the units of the five Warsaw Pact countries, their adherence to this treaty, and complete respect for Czechoslovakian sovereignty.
>
> 2. We urgently call on the governments of the Soviet Union, the G.D.R., Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary to give orders to stop the armed actions which are the cause of bloodshed and damage in our country.
>
> 3. We demand the immediate creation of normal conditions for the normal work of the constitutional organs and political institutions of Czechoslovakia and an end to the internment of their members so that their activities can be resumed.
>
> 4. We demand the immediate convocation of the National Assembly so that it can state the position of the Czechoslovak government concerning the solution of the current crisis.... (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, p. 14 130)

The entire populace was outraged, and resistance against the occupiers grew. Signposts were taken down, trains were blocked, swastikas were smeared on tanks, and there was some physical resistance put up by stone throwers. To cover up its crime against the Czechoslovakian people and the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leaders leaned on the governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the G.D.R. to come out on August 23 with a hypocritical joint "appeal to the citizens of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic," which said:

> Friends! Today your class brothers have come to your aid. They have come to you, not to interfere in your internal affairs, but, together with you, to repulse the counterrevolution, to defend the cause of socialism, and to banish the threat to the sovereignty, independence and security of your fatherland.
>
> The troops of the allied fraternal countries have come to you so that no one can rob you of the freedom achieved in our joint struggle against fascism, so that no one can prevent you advancing on the bright road of socialism. These troops will leave your territory as soon as the threat to the freedom and independence of Czechoslovakia has been eliminated. (TASS, Moscow, 23 August 1968; our translation from the German - The Editors)

This was open derision of the Czechoslovakian people by the social-imperialists, who had long since gotten rid of socialism in their country and, since 1956, had forced the other former socialist countries of Eastern Europe to take the capitalist road. Defense of socialism was not the goal of the invasion, but **maintaining** Czechoslovakia's **neocolonial dependency** on the Soviet Union **by means of force.**

The invasion of Czechoslovakia therefore has nothing in common with the events in Hungary in October of 1956. Then, the Soviet Union was called on by the **legitimate leadership** of the Hungarian people, the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, to help the Hungarian working people defend the people's democracy against the counterrevolution.

In Czechoslovakia, by contrast, the counterrevolution had long since prevailed by quiet methods. The leadership of the Communist Party had degenerated and became petty-bourgeois, betrayed Marxism-Leninism in 1956 in the wake of Khrushchov and, as a bourgeoisie of a new type, took away political power from the working class. Under the direction of Antonin Novotny, party, government and economic bureaucrats gradually reintroduced the laws of the capitalist profit system to Czechoslovakia and appropriated the wealth created by the working people. Stagnation and mismanagement were not long in coming.

In January, 1964, the chairman of the Central Committee's economic commission, Drahomir Kolder, had to admit publicly that eco-

nomic growth had steadily declined since the 1950's and that a negative growth rate was registered for the first time in 1963.

In a vain attempt to master the growing economic problems, the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia adopted a new planning system in January, 1965, which was heavily influenced by CC member and revisionist economic theorist Professor Ota Sik. This system was designed to apply even tougher capitalist slave-driving methods on the workers, to plunge individual enterprises into sharp competition with each other, and to give unlimited play to the laws of the capitalist market. It provided among other things for:

— price formation taking the world market and world labor productivity into account;
— import of consumer goods from abroad without regard for local production capability;
— "healthy competition" and "transition to the commission system";
— extension of the powers of the directors and leading functionaries;
— linking of the amount of bonuses (as material incentive for the workers) to the amount of profits of each enterprise;
— "easing of labor turnover" by "changing labor laws and regulations."

(From the January 29, 1965, resolution of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia as quoted in: F. Röll and G. Rosenberger, *CSSR 1962-1968, Dokumentation und Kritik*, pp. 61-66.)

On August 25, 1968, the central organ of the SED, *Neues Deutschland*, tried to justify the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia by creating the impression that an "escalation of the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary tendencies" had taken place in 1968 and not before. Indignantly, it stated:

> In the field of economics and science, CC member and deputy prime minister O. Sik promulgates and puts into practice the theory of the "socialist market economy," which seeks to abolish the socialist planned economy, to completely decentralize the economy, to put enterprises at the mercy of the laws and crises of the capitalist world market, and to introduce capitalist methods of management on the basis of unbridled defamation of socialist economics.

Why hadn't the SED noticed this in 1965 but, instead, praised the

revisionist theories of Ota Sik as "an important contribution" with "many very interesting suggestions for answering numerous current questions of comprehensive socialist construction" (from the preface to Ota Sik's book *Ökonomie — Interessen — Politik*)? Because the G.D.R. itself had long since taken the capitalist road. In reality, within the new Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie those forces had become stronger and stronger who were not satisfied with eliminating the socialist planned economy, who wanted to become more independent of social-imperialism and keep a larger part of the spoils for themselves.

Following sharp controversies in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in January of 1968 these forces finally succeeded in ousting Antonin Novotny, social-imperialism's managing director of Czechoslovakia, from his office as First Secretary and making "reformer" Alexander Dubcek their leader. By initiating or announcing economic and political reforms, such as the lifting of press censorship, reduction of weekly working hours and the raising of average wages, the new leadership secured the support of the working people and brought about a general euphoric discussion on reform: the "Prague Spring."

A "programme of action" adopted by the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia in April, 1968, demagogically created an illusion of true democracy for the masses. The programme said it was no longer necessary to assert the interests of one class against another. A society could be established which knew no more economic and social privileges, which was based on the equality of all citizens, regardless of their relation to the means of production — in other words, a classless society.

The revisionist leaders of the Dubcek group had launched a dangerous experiment which left only one way open: rapprochement with the Western imperialists. The U.S. imperialists had already foreseen this development in the fifties and had changed their Cold War concept in favor of so-called detente for this reason.

The F.R.G. monopolies also adopted this new tactic. The capitalist newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote on March 23, 1968, concerning the developments in Czechoslovakia:

> This country, estranged from Central Europe by force, is returning to the orbit which nature has planned for it. Not all at once, to be sure, but in tendency. It can only be agreeable to us in the West if such a process takes place within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and under the roof of Comecon.

On April 10, 1968, the same newspaper declared, full of expectations:

> The new Czechoslovakian leadership has published a program of action of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, indicating that it will adopt an independent line in foreign policy similar to Romania. It does not rule out taking up diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. It says that in dealings with the F.R.G. the "forces of realism" in West Germany deserve support.

At the same time, there was a realization that the Soviet Union would never permit Czechoslovakia to leave the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and the Warsaw Pact. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 10 April 1968 warned about moving too fast:

> Although Prague envisions expanding western trade and capital aid, dramatic political concessions are not to be expected. Moreover, it could be altogether fatal to even try to pressure Czechoslovakia as it is doing its balancing act. The West should be satisfied when a country in Central Europe tries to give thought to where it stands. National political elements will automatically become added to the national economic components, and the more we advance a policy of detente in Central Europe, the sharper their contours will be.

The social-imperialists observed the threat to their economic and political dominions with growing concern. The threat did not consist primarily in the possibility of armed intervention by the Western imperialists, but precisely in the **voluntary orientation** of the East European countries to the West, quite as Zbigniew Brzezinski, foreign policy advisor to U.S. President Johnson at the time, had outlined in his book *Alternative to Partition* (well known to the Soviet revisionists):

> In the expansion of East-West trade, the West should attempt to erode the narrow ideological perspectives of the ruling communist

> elites and to prevent them from restricting closer contact [to the West - The Editors] exclusively to the economic realm, thus resolving their economic difficulties while consolidating their power.... (p. 152)

Thus, since the fall of Novotny it was clear to the social-imperialists that they had to liquidate Dubcek's "reform course" by applying political and military pressure by every means available and, if necessary, by armed intervention. Their policy of demagogically talking about "struggle against imperialism" and "proletarian internationalism" and camouflaging themselves as "Marxist-Leninists" forced them to carry out extensive deceptive maneuvers to realize their plans. To intervene in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, therefore, they had to produce, first, a *political pretext*; second, an *ideological justification*; third, the *semblance of a legal basis*; and finally, fourth, create the *military prerequisites*.

At first they pursued a two-pronged tactic of applying military pressure on the Prague leadership and forcing it to acquiesce in high-level political talks. It was a last attempt to scuttle the dangerous "program of action" prior to the April plenary meeting of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia. Big spring maneuvers of Warsaw Pact troops with Soviet participation were staged in Hungary and the G.D.R. Simultaneously, representatives of the Czechoslovakian party and government were summoned to Dresden for a conference with the leaders of the other Eastern Bloc countries on March 23. But the plan failed, so in stages the social-imperialists began preparing an invasion:

First, on May 9 a massive campaign was launched in the press of the Soviet Union, Poland and the G.D.R. against so-called antisocialist symptoms in Czechoslovakia. The Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* wrote on that day:

> It is no secret that, alongside positive economic and political changes which are taking place, political forces have appeared which cause us deep fear and concern. Though condemned by the CP leadership, voices are raised against the socialist system and against the underlying alliance system, with special emphasis on the Polish-Czechoslovakian alliance. **We can only hope that those who value the friendship between our countries will not permit repetition of**

such events. (F. Röll, G. Rosenberger. *CSSR 1962-1968, Dokumentation und Kritik*, p. 257. Emphasis added by us - The Editors.)

The threatening undertone could not be overheard, and as if to illustrate, Soviet Marshal Yakubovski called for joint maneuvers of the Eastern Bloc and for the draft of a joint foreign policy of all Warsaw Pact countries in *Pravda* of May 14.

Second, while the *political pretext* for armed intervention in Czechoslovakia was being created, the Soviet revisionists were feverishly working on an *ideological justification*. On 14 and 15 July they had party and government representatives of Bulgaria, the G.D.R., Poland and Hungary send a joint letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This letter advanced the revisionist theory of "limited sovereignty" for the first time by stating:

> We want you to understand us clearly and assess our intentions correctly.
>
> It was not and is not our intention to interfere in matters which definitely are internal affairs of your party and your country. It was not and is not our intention to violate the principles of respect for independence and equality in relations between the communist parties and the socialist countries....
>
> But we cannot approve when hostile forces in your country push your country off the socialist road and provoke the secession of Czechoslovakia from the socialist community. These are no longer only your affairs. **They are joint affairs of all communist and working-class parties and of all countries united by alliance, by cooperation and friendship.** (Supplement to *Sowjetunion heute* No. 17, 1968, of 1 September 1968)

It is shamelessly perverting Marxism-Leninism into its exact opposite when the Soviet revisionists cite Lenin for their theory of limited sovereignty. Lenin developed the fundamental position of the proletariat on national relations in the draft party programme of 1919:

> On the national question, the policy of the proletariat which has captured political power — unlike that of the bourgeois-democratic formal proclamation of equality of nations, which is impossible under imperialism — is persistently to bring about the real rapprochement

and amalgamation of the workers and peasants of all nations in their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. To achieve this object, the colonial and other nations which are oppressed, or whose rights are restricted, must be completely liberated and granted the right to secede as a guarantee that the sentiment inherited from capitalism, the distrust of the working people of the various nations and the wrath which the workers of the oppressed nations feel towards the workers of the oppressor nations, will be fully dispelled and replaced by a conscious and voluntary alliance. ("Draft Programme of the R.C.P.(B.)," in Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 127)

Third, using the massive pressure of large-scale maneuvers by Warsaw Pact forces, the social-imperialists intimidated the Dubeck group into signing a joint "declaration of the communist and working-class parties of the socialist countries" at a new summit meeting on August 3 in Bratislava. This declaration obligated the leadership of Czechoslovakia

— to accept the "general laws for the construction of socialist society" dictated by the Soviet leaders;
— to recognize the defense of these "achievements" as the "joint duty of all socialist countries" even on Czechoslovakian territory;
— to attach "ever greater importance" to the CMEA instead of seeking closer relations with the West; to consent to further "specialization of production" in Czechoslovakia and to permit the Soviet Union "to make better use of the advantages of international socialist division of labor"; and finally,
— to cede the Soviet Union the right to "coordinate joint activities" of the fraternal countries against the "aggressive policies of imperialism." (Supplement to *Sowjetunion heute* No. 17, 1968, of 1 September 1968)

Fourth. The ideological and political stage had thus been set for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The goal was to forestall the extraordinary 14th Congress of the CP of Czechoslovakia set for September 9, 1968, which would confirm the line of the "programme of action." The social-imperialists now began "coordinating" the direct military preparations:

— On *August 13*, Soviet defense minister Andrei A. Grechko inspected the readiness and political status of the Soviet forces stationed in the G.D.R.
— On *August 14*, he assured himself of the political reliability of the forces of the G.D.R. in talks with Admiral Verner, chief of the central political administration of the National People's Army.
— On *August 15*, Grechko arrived at the northern group of Soviet troops and briefed their commanders and political officers on the impending invasion of Czechoslovakia.
— On *August 15*, units of the Soviet and Hungarian forces in Hungary began joint maneuvers.
— On *August 16*, Grechko observed maneuvers in southwest Poland and conducted talks with the "central political department of the Polish army," among others.
— On *August 19*, the Soviet-led Supreme Military Command of the Warsaw Pact ordered major units of the Czechoslovakian People's Army to go on maneuvers on August 21 and 22 in the mountain country of central and west Bohemia. This was designed to preoccupy the Czechoslovakian general staff and prevent Czechoslovakian troops from resisting the armed intervention.
— On the night of *August 20/21*, troops from five Warsaw Pact countries invaded the territory of Czechoslovakia.

(*Archiv der Gegenwart*, August 20-31, 1968, pp. 14 126/14 127)

This insidiously engineered, bloody aggression and crime of the social-imperialists against the Czechoslovak people is completely in violation of international law and also of the Warsaw Treaty ("Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" of May 14, 1955). This treaty serves solely to *protect against "armed attack"* according to article 4, and in article 8 expressly guarantees *"respect for the independence and sovereignty"* of the contracting parties and *prohibits interference in their domestic affairs.*

In view of these universally well-known facts the Soviet leaders rushed to give their social-imperialist Great-Power politics a moral whitewash by calling it "fraternal aid." On August 21 they published the alleged call for help of an anonymous "group of members of the Central Committee of the CP, the government and the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia," which declared with false and tasteless pathos:

> In recognition of our great responsibility to the people, filled with genuine patriotism and international socialist solidarity, and conscious of our international commitments, we have seized the initiative to unite all patriotically minded forces for the sake of our socialist future and our homeland. The threat of a fraternal struggle for which the reactionaries have prepared ... has necessitated our taking the historic decision to approach the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries for assistance. Our allies have provided us this assistance....
>
> When the danger of a reactionary coup has been eliminated, the allied troops will leave the territory of Czechoslovakia. (Supplement to *Sowjetunion heute* No. 17, 1968, of 1 September 1968)

But the social-imperialists had no intention at all of clearing out of Czechoslovakian territory soon. Rather they intended to *completely subjugate Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union politically, economically and militarily.* They arrested the leading representatives of the Czechoslovakian party and government, including the President, Ludwig Svoboda, the First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubcek, the Chairman of the National Assembly, Josef Smrkovsky, and Prime Minister Oldrich Cernik. In the so-called Moscow negotiations of 23 to 26 August they forced them to submit to the political will of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The revisionist Dubcek group, which had promised the working population unlimited democracy and prosperity, capitulated completely and became a tool of the social-imperialists.

In an address on Prague Radio on August 27, A. Dubeck warned that it would be

> very unwise and dangerous to stop the troop movements by any kind of activities... (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, p. 14 139)

And he requested the active support of the population

> if we are forced to take some temporary extraordinary steps which will restrict the degree of democratization and freedom of speech which we have achieved, and which we would not have taken in a normal situation. (*ibid.*)

These measures included: abandonment of all neutrality plans and firmer integration in CMEA and Warsaw Pact; reintroduction of media censorship; ban on all anti-Soviet organizations; no new political parties outside the CP-controlled "National Front"; expulsion of so-called radical reformers from the CC and the government.

At the beginning of October, negotiations took place in Moscow on a Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement on the stationing of troops, which was signed on October 16, 1968. It provided for the *unlimited presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia.* On the topic of the duration of the stay of troops, the Soviet Union had hypocritically stated on August 21:

> They will immediately be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia as soon as the threat which has arisen to the achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the threat to the security of the countries of the socialist community has been eliminated **and the legitimate government no longer considers the further stationing of these units necessary.** (TASS statement of August 21, 1968. Emphasis added by us - The Editors.)

Yet there is no mention of these rights of the "legitimate government" in the treaty. The invasion of Czechoslovakia thus reveals to the working class and the oppressed peoples of all countries the true nature of bureaucratic capitalism in the Soviet Union:

Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds!

3. The Bloody Border Provocations of the Social-Imperialists against then Socialist China in 1969

On 2 and 15 March 1969, armed troops from the Soviet Union intruded on the Chinese island of Chenpao in the Ussuri river and opened fire with rifles and cannon on the Chinese border guards, many of whom were killed or wounded. In a "note of protest" the social-imperialists brazenly declared the island of Chenpao to be their territory and claimed that the unit of Chinese border guards had "crossed the Soviet frontier" and launched a "provocative at-

tack" on the Soviet frontier guards. The government of the People's Republic of China lodged a sharp protest and stated:

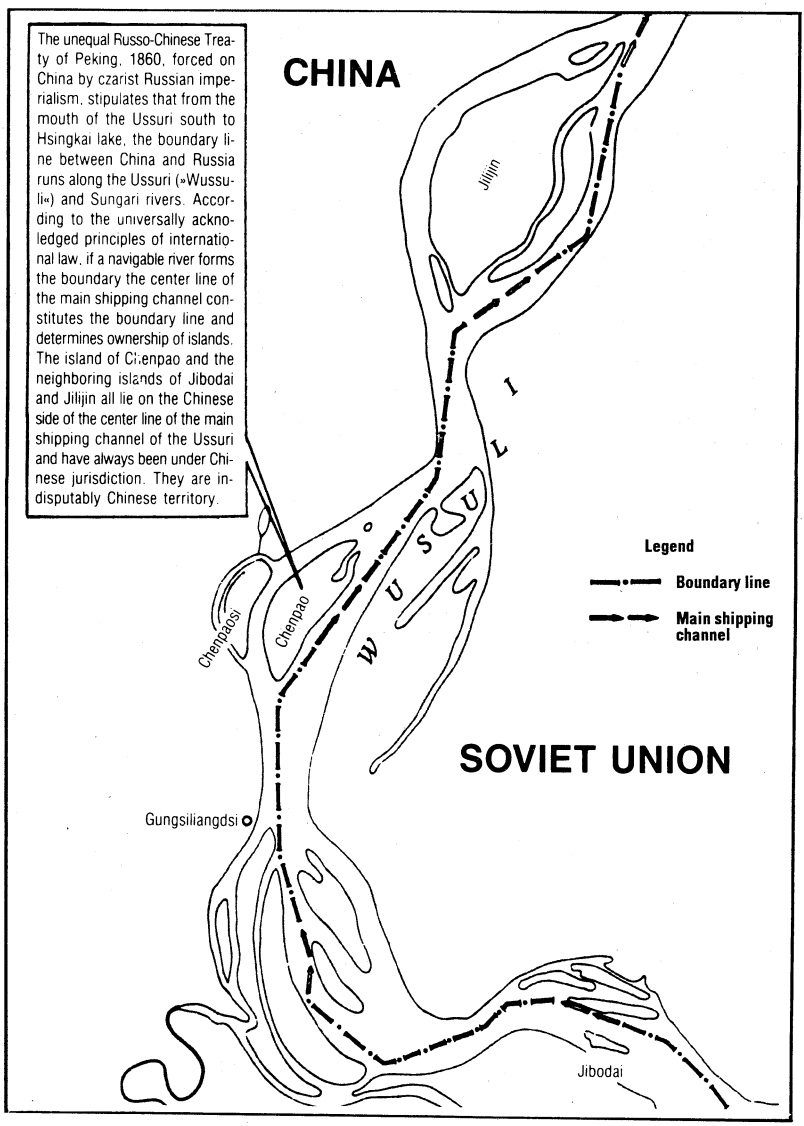
> The island of Chenpao is Chinese territory. This is indisputable, hard fact. Even the Russo-Chinese Treaty of Peking, an unequal treaty forced by czarist Russian imperialism on the people of China in 1860, says that the territory of the island of Chenpao belongs to China.... How can anyone claim that Chenpao has suddenly slipped across the "Soviet frontier" onto the other side? (Leading article of *Renmin Ribao* of March 4, 1969; our translation from the German)

The serious provocations of March, 1969, were preceded by numerous border incidents instigated by the Soviet Union along the entire Sino-Soviet frontier. Just in the period from January 23, 1967, through March 2, 1969, the social-imperialists made 16 incursions on the territory of the Chinese island of Chenpao during the frost period. This fact, the declaration of the People's Republic of China continued,

> once again permits the peoples of the entire world to recognize in all clarity that this handful of renegades are out-and-out social-imperialists and genuine new czars. They have cruelly plundered and brutally suppressed at will the masses of several East European countries. They have even sent an armed force numbering several hundred thousand men to occupy Czechoslovakia and have made further areas of Eastern Europe their sphere of influence — this all in the attempt to set up a czarist-style colonial empire. (*ibid.*)

As long as the Soviet Union had been socialist, that is, until the accession of Khrushchov to power at the XXth Congress of the CPSU in February, 1956, there were open questions between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, handed down to the two countries by history, regarding the frontier, but there had been no border conflict. Then what were the causes of the armed clashes in March of 1969? Was it the "unjustified claims" of the People's Republic of China to millions of square kilometers of Soviet territory, as the social-imperialists would have one believe? The Peking "People's Daily" published a statement on March 8, 1963, on occasion of the Cuban missile crisis, in which it said on the issue of the boundary:

Figure 5


The unequal Russo-Chinese Treaty of Peking, 1860, forced on China by czarist Russian imperialism, stipulates that from the mouth of the Ussuri south to Hsingkai lake, the boundary line between China and Russia runs along the Ussuri (»Wussuli«) and Sungari rivers. According to the universally acknowledged principles of international law, if a navigable river forms the boundary the center line of the main shipping channel constitutes the boundary line and determines ownership of islands. The island of Chenpao and the neighboring islands of Jibodai and Jilijin all lie on the Chinese side of the center line of the main shipping channel of the Ussuri and have always been under Chinese jurisdiction. They are indisputably Chinese territory.
CHINA
Jilijin
USSURI
Chenpaosi
Chenpao
Gungsiliangdsi
SOVIET UNION
Jibodai
Legend
Boundary line
Main shipping channel

Map of the Sino-Soviet boundary in the area of the Chinese territorial island of Chenpao

In regard to the unsettled questions which are a legacy of the past, we have always been of the opinion that as soon as the time is ripe they should be **settled peacefully, through negotiation, and that until that time the status quo should be retained...!** (Archiv der Gegenwart, 9 March 1963, p. 10 463; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Along this line the foreign ministry of the People's Republic of China submitted concrete proposals to the Soviet Union for peaceful settlement of the boundary questions in August, 1963:

— Each of the two sides obligates itself to maintain the status quo along the frontier and not to move the line of actual control forward in any way.

— Each of the two sides obligates itself to avoid clashes, and under no circumstances may the frontier guards and other personnel of either side use force against the other side, or threaten to use force, or shoot at the other side.

— In those areas where a river constitutes the boundary line, the frontier guards of each side must not cross the main channel of the navigable river on their patrols.

— This agreement does not impinge upon the rights of territorial possession. As far as the differences of opinion between the two sides on the boundary question are concerned, they will be settled in the boundary negotiations between the two governments. (*Nieder mit den neuen Zaren! Chinafeindliche Greueltaten der Sowjetrevisionisten auf den Flüssen Wusuli und Helung* ["Down with the new czars! Anti-Chinese atrocities of the Soviet revisionists on the Ussuri and Heilung rivers"], Foreign Languages Publishing House, Peking, 1969, n. pag.; our translation from the German)

These were clear-cut arrangements which were opposed to any aggression. The Chinese government went even further and declared during the boundary negotiations in February, 1964:

The Russo-Chinese Treaty of Peking, the Russo-Chinese Treaty of Aigun and other treaties referring to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties which czarist Russian imperialism imposed on China when power was not yet in the hands of the people of China and Russia. But based on the desire to strengthen the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the Chi-

nese side is nonetheless willing to accept these treaties as basis for determining the entire course of the boundary line between the two countries and settling all existing issues in respect to the border.... (*ibid.*)

But the Soviet leaders were not interested in agreements on peaceful settlement of the conflict and let the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations break down. They pretended that they were not thinking of defending "the aggressive policy of the czarist government and the **unjust treaties** imposed upon China." They did not want to "defend the Russian czars who permitted arbitrariness in laying down the state boundaries with neighboring countries." But at the same time they insisted that the Chinese territory annexed by czarist Russia was now the **lawful property** of the Soviet Union. The trick was to declare demagogically that the Chinese emperors also

by force of arms seized not a few territories belonging to others. But while condemning the reactionary actions of the top-stratum exploiters who held power in Russia and in China at that time, we cannot disregard the fact that **historically-formed boundaries** between states now exist. (Letter of Soviet government dated November 29, 1963, quoted in: Horst Pommerening, *Der chinesisch-sowjetische Grenzkonflikt* ["The Sino-Soviet Border Conflict"], pp. 22/23; emphasis ours - The Editors.)

They wanted to force the Chinese people to accept unequal treaties imposed on them by czarism as "historically formed boundaries" and thus as the lawful boundaries.

Which side was right? International law expert Horst Pommerening delved into this question in his above-quoted book, which appeared in 1968. He comes to the conclusion:

"In international law, which was chiefly developed by the Europeans and Americans, there is no concept of the unequal treaty thus far." As political reason for this he quite rightly emphasizes: "The colonial powers, which took the lead in developing the current international law in those decades, could not have been expected to give any force to this concept, which is a weapon against them, by institutionalizing it" (*ibid.*, p. 35). He comes to the conclusion "that international law outside the socialist camp currently takes no clear position

> on the question of the validity of treaties which have been brought about by error, deception, force — physical or psychological, against organs or the state — or the threat of force, which treaties include the unequal treaties." (*ibid.*, p. 53).

In contrast to this, in international relations between socialist countries

> the conviction prevails that unequal treaties can be cancelled..., that no one can try to get benefit from such treaties either by limitation or forfeit or prescription (*ibid.*, p. 87).

We want to underscore this correct presentation with the words of Lenin, who on October 27, 1917, unequivocally stated on the question of annexing foreign territories:

> In accordance with the sense of justice of democrats in general, and of the working classes in particular, the government conceives the annexation or seizure of foreign lands to mean every incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large or powerful state without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to the given state, or forcibly retained within its borders, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant, overseas countries. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 250)

The first treaty between the Chinese emperor and a Western Great Power was the Treaty of Nipchu (Russian: Nerchinsk), concluded with Russia on September 8, 1689. According to this treaty the entire area north of the Heilung river (Russian: Amur) to the Stanovoi mountains belonged to China. This treaty was expressly and voluntarily reaffirmed by the czarist government in 1728 — despite its great interest in the territories north of the Heilung — in order finally to establish trade with China despite the stringent isolation of the Celestial Empire.

But the czar and his military advisors soon regretted the treaty. Admiral Gavril Sarychev of the Russian "East Fleet" declared in 1793:

> If Russia had the Amur, it would be lord of the Eastern ocean. Russia could conduct trade on the Eastern seas with far greater gain than any other European power. (Y. Semenov, *Sibirien* ["Siberia"], Berlin, 1958, p. 290)

Towards the mid-19th century the situation in Asia changed fundamentally, giving Russia the opportunity to void the Nipchu (Nerchinsk) treaty and pursue the annexation of the territory north of the Heilung (Amur). What was the situation, and what had changed? As in other nation-states, capitalism, furthered by foreign capital, emerged and developed also in 19th century feudal Russia. This rising Russian capitalism was not satisfied with the internal market but strove to capture external markets. In his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia,* Lenin pointed out the law-governed character of this expansionist urge of capitalism:

> If Siberia is the home market and China the foreign market, to which category does Manchuria belong? Such questions are not of great importance. What is important is that capitalism cannot exist and develop without constantly expanding the sphere of its domination, without colonizing new countries and drawing old non-capitalist countries into the whirlpool of world economy. And this feature of capitalism has been and continues to be manifested with tremendous force in post-reform Russia [Lenin refers to the peasant reform of 1861, the liberation of the serfs in Russia - The Editors]. (Lenin: *Collected Works,* Vol. 3, p. 593)

Russia was in a particularly favorable position for seizing fringe areas in Central Asia and the Far East. It offered capitalism a tangible goal for colonization of these areas. Russia became a serious contender in the struggle of the Great Powers over the division of the world. England and France, in league with the U.S.A., savagely attacked China in the two so-called Opium Wars of 1841/42 and 1856-58 and forced it to conclude unequal treaties which opened up new ports to foreign trade and gave the colonial powers freedom of movement and domicile and the right of navigation on China's inland waters.

In his article "Russia's Successes in the Far East," Frederick Engels aptly described how czarist Russia was able to take advantage of the

situation of the Chinese Empire, which helplessly declined to a semicolony, to further its own expansion:

> While the British squabbled with inferior Chinese officials at Canton, ... the Russians took possession of the country north of the Amur, and of the greater part of the coast of Manchuria south of that point; there they fortified themselves, surveyed a line of railway, and laid out the plans of towns and harbors. When at last England resolved to carry the war to Peking, and when France joined her in the hope of picking up something to her advantage, Russia, though at the very moment despoiling China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube, managed to appear as the disinterested protector of the weak Chinese, and to act almost as mediator at the conclusion of the peace....
>
> Not satisfied with this, she has obtained the establishment of a Russo-Chinese Commission to fix the boundaries. Now, we all know what such a commission is in the hands of Russia. We have seen them at work on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, where they kept slicing away piece after piece from that country, for more than twenty years.... (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, London, 1980, pp. 83 and 85)

By this method Russia forced the Chinese Empire to annul the treaty of Nipchu (Nerchinsk) and accept the unequal treaties of Aigun (1858) and Peking (1860), which gave Russia "the invaluable tract lying between the Gulf of Tartary and Lake Baikal, a region so much coveted by Russia that ... she has always attempted to get it" (*ibid.*, p. 50).

Since the Soviet revisionists were entirely aware of these indisputable historical facts, they proceeded to turn dialectical and historical materialism upside down, declaring in *Pravda* of September 2, 1964:

> If one takes to the method of "historical reference" in the question of the boundaries, one can prove anything one likes.

And this is exactly what they did, asserting:

> The actual boundaries were drawn with the seizure of the northern half of the Amur basin by Russia and the southern half by China. This status quo was laid down in the treaties of Aigun and Peking more than 100 years ago. Nobody denies that the czarist government pur-

sued a policy of conquest, just as the Chinese emperors did within the means available to them. Sometimes the one was stronger, sometimes the other, and accordingly, the one gained the upper hand over the other.... This is exactly why we say that the present border is historically formed and has been consolidated by life itself, and that the treaties on the boundary line are a basis which is not open to debate. (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, 12 September 1964, p. 11 418)

Conquest here, conquest there — that's life. The stronger prevails and imposes his "right" on the weaker. How can anyone argue about this? That is the logic of imperialists! Even Horst Pommerening, whom we quoted above, exposes the Soviet leaders' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism:

The Soviet Union sees itself confronted by a power [the People's Republic of China - The Editors] which, despite deep ideological differences, as a member of the socialist camp is besetting another member of this camp with arguments which the latter itself has created. The People's Republic of China is thus pushing the Soviet Union dangerously close to the so-called imperialist countries and their argumentations. This position requires the Soviet Union to act in a way which inevitably conflicts with earlier statements and actions. (*Der chinesisch-sowjetische Grenzkonflikt*, p. 176)

One of these earlier statements was the July 25, 1919, "declaration" of the Soviet Union "to the Chinese nation and the governments of South and North China," which unequivocally stated that the Soviet government relinquishes the conquests which the czarist government made when it stole Manchuria and other areas from China. On September 27, 1920, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Leo Karakhan, declared:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and forever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie. (Quoted in: *The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents)*, p. 93)

This pronouncement was made good in the Sino-Soviet agreement of May 31, 1924. According to Article III of this treaty a conference was to be convened at which the old agreements were to be annulled and new treaties made on the basis of equality and in the spirit of the declarations of 1919 and 1920. Article VII stipulated:

> The two parties to the treaty agree to demarcate their national frontiers anew ... and in the meantime to retain the present frontiers.... (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, 12 September 1964, p. 11 419)

There are no official documents available to us showing the concrete reasons why this conference did not result in actually returning **all** annexed territories to China. Fact is, however, the reactionary Manchu dynasty in Peking feared the influence of the socialist Soviet Union on the worker and peasant masses of China, who were in revolutionary ferment (the bourgeois-democratic revolution under Sun Yat-sen had already won victory in South China), and was not willing to make any concessions to the Soviet Union. Regardless, the historical facts prove:

1. The standpoint of the government of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong was just and based on Marxism-Leninism. It coincided with the principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union shaped by Lenin.

2. The government of the People's Republic of China did **not** intend to enforce its rights militarily, for which reason it submitted acceptable proposals to the government of the Soviet Union for peaceful settlement of the border conflict.

Why was the Soviet Union unwilling to reach a peaceful agreement with the People's Republic of China on this formerly common basis? Because it had departed from this basis with Khrushchov's betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and had gradually developed into a social-imperialist superpower. The Communist Party of China exposed this betrayal and did not allow the new czars with their imperialist politics to represent themselves as "Marxist-Leninists" to the peoples. The social-imperialists feared the growing influence of the revolutionary line of Mao Zedong and the sympathy enjoyed by socialist China among the Soviet people. They therefore began to de-

fame the government of the People's Republic as the "chauvinist Mao clique" and to make massive preparations for liquidating socialist China militarily.

What could not remain hidden for long was the 50 Soviet divisions on war footing which marched up along the Chinese frontier in 1969, from the southern tip of Tuva (North Korea/Soviet Union) to the Pamir mountains; was the fact that the Soviet Union enlarged its air bases in outer Mongolia to accommodate long-range bombers, and that in Vladivostok and Nakhodka (on the Sea of Japan) 150 submarines, including nuclear-powered missile submarines, had been drawn together.

The social-imperialists, who showed no scruples in attacking Czechoslovakia, planned to involve China in a war.

The government of the People's Republic of China made full preparations for a possible war and warned the Soviet revisionists:

> No one can violate China's territorial integrity and sovereignty. **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** The times are long past when the Chinese people was terrorized by others. You are completely blind and daydreamers if you still think you can get the better of the great Chinese people with the tricks of czarist Russia. If you continue your military provocations you will certainly be punished most severely. Whatever strength you come in and whoever with, we shall **resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe you out.** The Chinese people, 700 million strong, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who have armed themselves with Mao Zedong Thought and have steeled themselves in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are stronger than ever. Whoever ventures to invade our great socialist fatherland will inevitably bloody his head and break his own neck. (Leading article of *Renmin Ribao* of March 4, 1969; our translation from the German)

The determination displayed by the Chinese people caused the social-imperialists to shrink from carrying out their criminal plans.

4. The Expansion of Social-Imperialism in Africa and Asia

In December, 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan and occupied the country using the same methods as the Western imperialists, which we characterized in REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 16, *State Monopoly Capitalism in the F.R.G.*, Part I, in the following way:

> Sources of raw materials, markets and capital investment — those are the imperialist goals of all monopoly capitalists. To achieve these goals, the imperialists will use whatever means they can: diplomatic intrigue, bribery, a share of the profits, blackmail, threats, assassination attempts, changes in governments through corruption, military coups with the aid of corrupt officers, military intervention from outside with soldiers of fortune or own troops, and so on, and so forth. (p. 51)

We will illustrate by the examples of Ethiopia and Afghanistan that this description fits the social-imperialist Soviet Union to a T. We will deal especially with the armed forces of developing countries as one of the main tools of the social-imperialists for neocolonial subjugation.

The Imperialist Theory of the "Army as Leading Force" in the Struggle for National and Social Liberation

At the beginning of the sixties, private foundations of large American firms and the U.S. State Department conducted increasingly intense research on the "role of the military in developing societies." By describing the military as an agent of social change in the direction of modern societies (naturally based on the American model), the U.S. imperialists concocted a theory designed to let their interference in the domestic affairs of the developing countries, which manifested itself in numerous military coups, appear as development aid and democratic progress. At the same time this theory was the basis for a strategy and tactics of subversion. Bassam Tibi, Professor for Political Science, who delved deeply into these relationships, made an extremely important discovery in his excellent study *Militär und Sozialismus in der Dritten Welt* ("Military and Socialism in the Third World"), published in 1973. Not only American military sociologists,

but also the revisionist theoreticians of social-imperialism welcome military rule in the developing countries. They represent the military as the moving force of the "national-democratic revolution," who play an important role in leading the developing countries on a "non-capitalist way of development" towards socialism. Bassam Tibi is astonished how much the Soviet theorists have adopted from the American military sociologists. We want to elucidate this point by making a detailed comparison. We first quote Lucian W. Pye, one of the most influential representatives of American military sociology.

Pye developed a doctrine saying that changes in "traditional" societies can only be effected by measures from above, through government organizations. He considers the army best suited for this purpose, because with the formation of colonial armies under colonial administration the foundations of independent armies had already been laid. According to Pye, the training of the officers of these armies is oriented to the capabilities of industrial societies, so that these officers are "forced to seek models outside their society" (*Militär und Sozialismus in der Dritten Welt*, p. 77).

> The soldier, however, is constantly called upon to look abroad and to compare his organization with foreign ones. He thus has a greater awareness of international standards and a greater sensitivity to weaknesses in his own society. (Lucian W. Pye, "Armies in the Process of Political Modernization," in: John J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, Princeton, N.J., 1962, p. 79)

The army must constantly become "modernized and "more 'efficient' with little regard to immediate reality" (*ibid.*). The modernization ideology of the military is a

> responsible nationalism. Indeed, the recruit may be impressed with the fact that he must make sacrifices to achieve the goals of nationalism.... (*ibid.*, p. 83)

The army has a stabilizing function above all in view of the fact

> that the urbanization process [that is to say, the inroads of imperialism - The Editors] as it has taken place in most Asian, African, and Latin-American societies has generally tended to produce a highly

restless, insecure population. Those who have been forced off the land or attracted to the cities often find themselves in a psychologically threatening situation. These are the people who tend to turn to extremist politics and to look for some form of social and personal security in political movements that demand their total commitment. (*ibid.*, p. 81)

The army, on the other hand, as a modern organization maintains its distance from the social problems of the particular society, which better enables it to collaborate with the United States.

For the various reasons which we have mentioned the army is often the most modernized public organization in an underdeveloped country, and as a consequence its leaders often feel more self-confident and are more able to deal frankly and cordially with representatives of industrialized countries. Military leaders are often far less suspicious of the West than civilian leaders because they themselves are more emotionally secure. This sense of security makes it possible for army leaders to look more realistically at their countries. All of these considerations make it easier for the military leaders to accept the fact that their countries are weak and the West is strong without becoming emotionally disturbed or hostile toward the West. (*ibid.*, p. 87)

These remarks leave nothing to doubt in their imperialist candor. About five years later the Soviet revisionist theorists also looked into the role of the army in underdeveloped countries and had to concede that the U.S. imperialists had a big lead in this field. In the three-volume standard reference work *Klassen und Klassenkampf in den Entwicklungsländern* ("Classes and Class Struggle in the Developing Countries"), published between 1967 and 1968 by the "Institute for World Economy and International Relationships of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.," they found

that the social and political role of the army in the poorly developed countries requires a far more thorough analysis than can be found to date in Soviet scientific literature. **This is especially important because this question has been the focus of studies in the West in recent years.** (Vol. 1, p. 261; emphasis added by us - The Editors.)

In their "thorough analysis" of the question in the special chapter "The Officers' Corps," they came to the same conclusion as the American Pye, namely, that the military in poorly developed countries is best suited to influencing the course of political events, because

> in essence the army was the only national institution in a society in which the nation in the modern sense is just in the process of forming, in which the national ties are weak, and family, clan, tribal and regional ties still determine people's consciousness more strongly than the feeling of belonging to a single community. (*ibid.*, p. 264)

Their primary concern was analyzing the officers' corps since

> this category is the most important because everywhere the soldiers go along with the officers, who are the initiators of political activities....
>
> The masses of soldiers in most cases are politically just as undeveloped and passive as the peasantry from which they come. (*ibid.*, pp. 262 and 277)

This officers' corps, which recruits itself mainly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and, to an even greater extent, from the rural petty bourgeoisie and stands in contradiction to the ruling feudal system, is perfectly suited to being influenced from outside, for:

> No one senses the backwardness of a country as strongly as the officer, who during his military training becomes familiar not only with the situation of other armies in the more developed countries, but to a certain degree also gets to know the condition of the economy of these countries, their scientific and cultural achievements. (*ibid.*, p. 265)

The army acquires prominent significance in the neocolonialist plans of the social-imperialists in the same way as it does for the U.S. imperialists:

> Under the conditions of a backward colonial or semicolonial society the army thus becomes a force which is prepared to join the national anti-imperialist movement. **What is more, it is prepared to take over the role of the vanguard of this movement** because, aware

of its unique position in the state, it is imbued with a sense of special historical responsibility. (*ibid.*, p. 266; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Following the example of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists falsely attribute a progressive role to the officers' bourgeois nationalism in the oppressed peoples' struggle for their national and social liberation. Since nationalism "is the first and most important element of the ideology of the army..., the army is a school of nationalism and patriotism" (*ibid.*, p. 266).

After independence is obtained, the nationalism that was directed against the external oppressor becomes protest and outrage directed against "corrupt politicians" [what they mean is those elements which want to collaborate with the U.S. imperialists instead of becoming clients of the social-imperialists - The Editors] who turn the state into their private enterprise, make it the plaything of their combinations, and are unable to manage the nation's wealth. (*ibid.*, pp. 266/267)

The greatest danger for the goals of social-imperialism lies in the vacillating character of the officers' corps, to which the Soviet revisionists have assigned the leadership role:

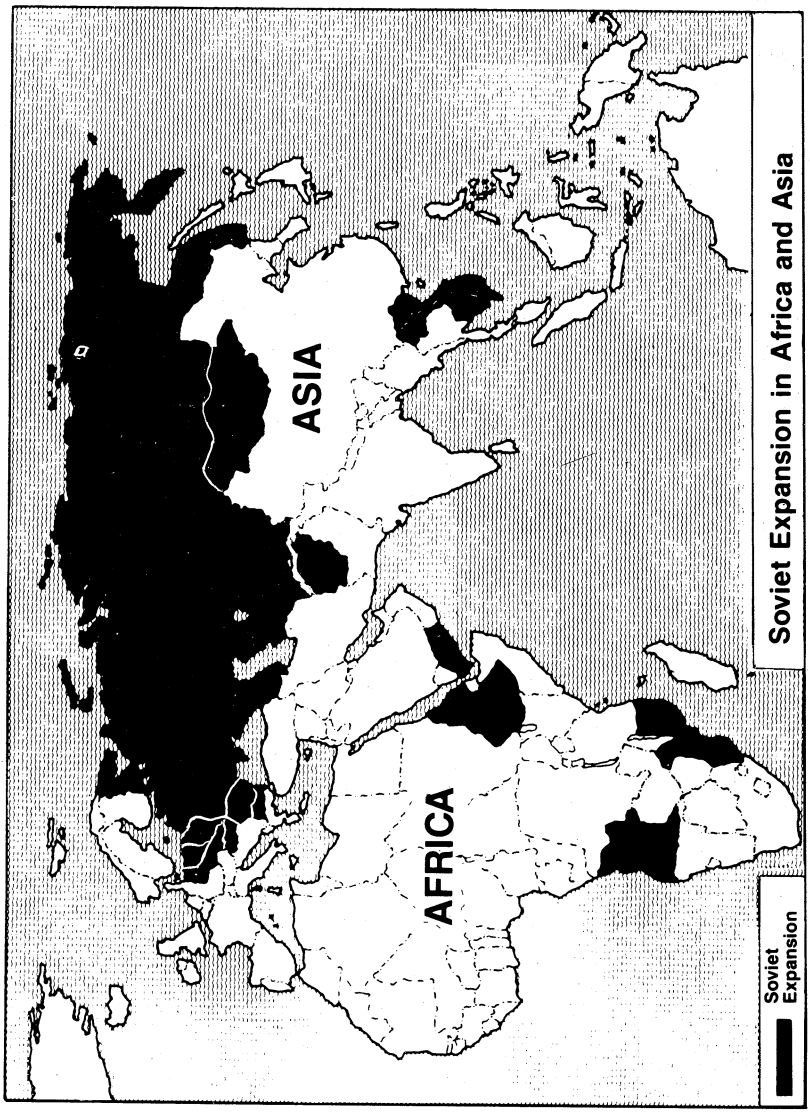
For this reason the claims circulated in the West lately [by whom? - The Editors], extolling the armies of the Afroasian countries as a democratic and revolutionary force, are completely untenable.... Nationalism is a two-edged sword. It has an anti-imperialist side, but can also be directed against the democratic forces [what they mean is the forces allied with the Soviet Union - The Editors]. (*ibid.*, p. 270)

So they cannot leave the field — the raw material sources, markets and investments in the developing countries — to the agents of U.S. imperialism, because:

This contradictory character of the officers' corps occasions the conflict whose outcome apparently depends **essentially on external factors**, depends on who can exercise the greatest ideological influence on the army. (*ibid.*, p. 278; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

In their limitless ambition to put U.S. imperialism in the shade, the

Figure 6


ASIA
AFRICA
Soviet Expansion
Soviet Expansion in Africa and Asia

social-imperialists do not hesitate to use Marxism-Leninism as a shield behind which they hide their reactionary aims from the peoples. They do not shrink from falsifying Marxism-Leninism in an underhanded way. *They replace the leading role of the working class propagated by Marx and Lenin with the leading role of the aspiring petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.*

It is a fact that in many countries of Asia and Africa, where the feudal structures of a backward agrarian society preponderate and the capitalist mode of production has gained only a small foothold, the bourgeoisie is politically and economically extremely weak and the working class is still small in numbers. In Afghanistan, for example, with some 15 million inhabitants, there are only 40,000 industrial workers, but two million nomads. The working class as the leading force, therefore, can only achieve the liberation of their countries from imperialism and feudalism in alliance with the overwhelming masses of peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the sections of the bourgeoisie with anti-imperialist sentiments (national bourgeoisie). When the people's democratic revolution has been completed, the party of the proletariat can initiate the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism (as was done in China under the leadership of Mao Zedong).

Such a revolutionary development, however, would make it impossible for social-imperialism to draw these countries into economic and political dependence on it. So they construct a special intermediate stage of the "non-capitalist" — that is, not oriented to Western capitalism — "way of development," which supposedly was to go over into socialism under the leadership of the petty bourgeois (so-called revolutionary democrats), officers, and so on, who had come to power. The chief feature of this **intermediate stage** is that the underdeveloped countries can go through it successfully **not on the strength of their own efforts** but **only with the aid** of loans, export commodities and **advisors from the Soviet Union**:

> The **most important prerequisite** for non-capitalist development is the strengthening of the economic and political relations with the socialist countries and the assistance of the socialist countries for the peoples of the economically poorly developed countries in all stages

of the revolution of national liberation and its transition to the socialist revolution. (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 295; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

This "intermediate stage" is base deception of the oppressed peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. It does **not** go over into **socialism**, but into **bureaucratic capitalism** modelled after the Soviet Union. The introduction of so-called real socialism — that is, bureaucratic capitalism — is nothing more or less than the conclusive integration of the developing countries in the neocolonialist system of the Soviet Union. This is to be achieved by transforming the sovereign governments of these countries into puppets of social-imperialism by influencing them ideologically, corrupting them, and drawing them into the fold of social-imperialism by every possible means:

> The true mentor of the revolutionary democrats who sincerely aspire to improve the lives of the working masses is **world socialism** [social-imperialism - The Editors]. Even in countries in which no Marxist-Leninist parties exist yet, the revolutionary democrats will be **pulled** over to the side of socialism — the strongest force of the present day — by life itself, by the logic of events. Socialism, with all its experience, with all its international authority, its knowledge and material resources, helps in an all-around way to let nations which have resolved to go for socialism to walk down this most progressive of roads unobstructed. (*ibid.*, pp. 319/320; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

Bassam Tibi, whom we quoted above, does not understand that the imperialist foreign policy of the Soviet Union has its origins in the restoration of capitalism and thus in pursuit of maximum profits. However, he comes to the correct conclusion

> that the two theories mentioned meet real needs of the United States and the Soviet Union. They serve the foreign policy interests of each and have more legitimating than explanatory function. (*Militär und Sozialismus in der Dritten Welt*, p. 14).

He sharply criticizes "the Soviet support for semicolonial military dictatorships and their dressing them up as 'national democracies'"

(*ibid.*, p. 94) and counters the reactionary Soviet-revisionist work by saying:

> In the history of the underdeveloped countries the petty bourgeoisie has thus far always opted to enter into an alliance with the local propertied class and its mainstay: imperialism. It masks this alliance with socialist and anti-imperialist metaphors and envelops its rule in revolutionary pathos. The "revolutionary" ideology which it propagates is an objective necessity, however: it serves to keep the socially underprivileged classes, the sole interests of which the military regime pretends to uphold, in a state of helplessness in order to maintain its own rule and existence, which is tied to the existence of the current system. (*ibid.*, p. 84)

Ethiopia: The "Revolutionary Military Dictatorship" of Major Mengistu, a Puppet of Social-Imperialism at the Horn of Africa

In the seventies the Indian Ocean became a focus of superpower rivalry:

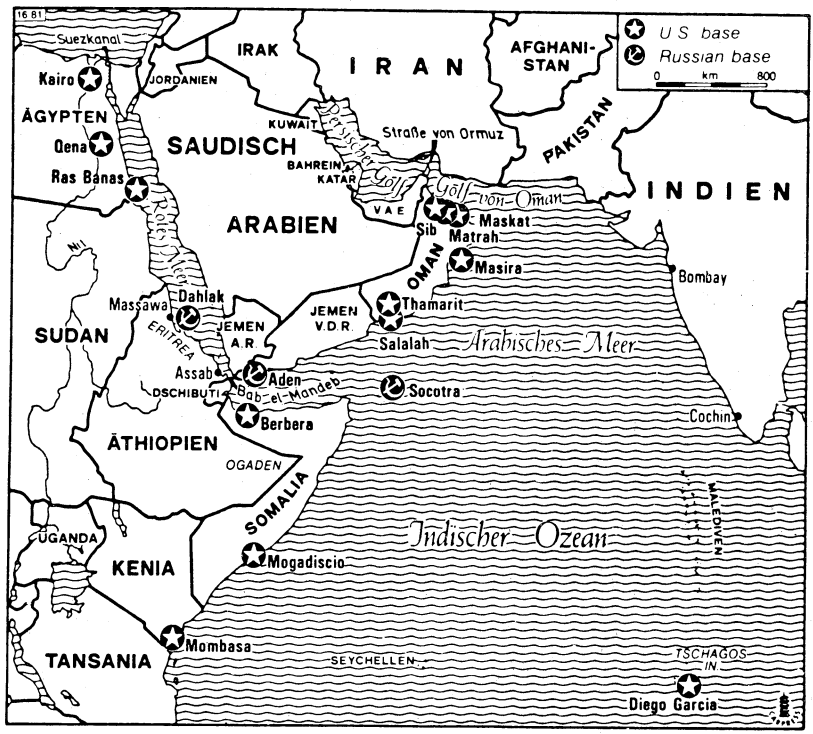
— The world's largest easily accessible petroleum reserves lie in the Persian Gulf region. From here the major tanker routes run east and west to Japan and Europe.

— The U.S. imperialists control these routes with numerous military bases on the African Red Sea coast, from the Gulf of Aden to the Gulf of Oman, and on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. The social-imperialists also seek control of this region and have also established military bases on the coasts of Africa.

— Since the northern shipping route between Murmansk or Arkhangelsk in the West and Vladivostok in the East is frozen most of the year, the Soviet Union transports a large share (almost 70 percent by Western estimates) of domestic freight between the East and West of the country via the Indian Ocean.

The social-imperialists could only gain a foothold there by breaking the hold which U.S. imperialism had on this region since the end of World War II. Ethiopia is a textbook case of the application of the revisionist theory of the "army as leading force" in the struggle to dominate the Horn of Africa. The standard work *Klassen und Klassenkampf in den Entwicklungsländern*, described above, turns out to

Figure 7



Military bases of the superpowers on the Indian Ocean

be a handbook for social-imperialist-style neocolonialism, as we shall show below.

In 1974, the U.S.-controlled feudal regime of Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown. Ethiopia, a country of many peoples, the "poorhouse" of Africa, was one of the most backward countries in the world. About 90 percent of the population lived in the countryside. Capitalism was little developed as yet. At the same time, Haile Selassie had one of the most modern armies of Africa, for he was a loyal vassal to U.S. imperialism at the Horn of Africa.

Soldier mutinies, peasant unrest, strikes and demonstrations in the sixties and seventies rose to a tempest and swept the rotten feudal ruling structures away. A Provisional Military Administrative Coun-

cil, initially composed of elected representatives of the soldiers from every garrison, assumed power.

On December 20, 1974, this military council presented its first programme with the central theme "Ethiopia above all." It was a bourgeois programme which promised to abolish feudal conditions and establish bourgeois democracy. In the declaration of December 1974 we read, for example:

> "Ethiopia above all" means "Ethiopian socialism," and socialism means: equality, self-reliance, respect for work, dominance of public welfare, and indivisibility of Ethiopian unity.... (*Brennpunkt Nordostafrika* 2 from the series *Internationalismus-Informationen* 4, p. 12)

In its majority the military council thus represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie. The programme was not even anti-imperialist since it promised "in essence, to continue the previous foreign policy of Ethiopia" (*ibid.*, p. 9).

The fall of the Haile Selassie system was nonetheless a tremendous advance for the working masses and all other anti-imperialist forces in the country. It gave them the political freedom to express their class interests. Supported by progressive intellectuals the peasants formed peasant associations and began to expropriate the landlords. The numerically weak proletariat also stirred to life. The trade unions became an active political force, and the young Marxist-Leninist circles quickly gained influence in the urban proletariat and the peasantry. The working class called for the nationalization of banks, industrial enterprises and urban land. The struggle for the leading role in the national-democratic revolution and thus for power had begun. There were only two possibilities:

Either the working class attains leadership within the alliance of all antifeudal and anti-imperialist classes and strata. Then, with the protection of the dictatorship of this alliance, the condition exists for completing the national-democratic revolution and orienting the country to socialism.

Or the national bourgeoisie gains the leadership and establishes the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In this case the bourgeois-democratic revolution will not be completed. The bourgeoisie cannot rely

on the masses of the people. Since it is itself weak, it seeks the aid of the imperialists to keep the masses down, which makes the country again dependent on imperialism.

Owing to the inner weakness of the working class, and especially to the inexperience of the Marxist-Leninists, the struggle for power in Ethiopia in the years 1975 through 1977 ended with the establishment of an openly terrorist dictatorship. Mengistu, now chairman of the military council, announced in a "call for national mobilization" on August 27, 1977, that all Ethiopians who did not cooperate with the military council faced imprisonment from five years to life, or even the death penalty.

Oppression of the working people in Ethiopia was accompanied by the growing influence of social-imperialism, which from March, 1977, stepped up weapons deliveries to assist the hard-pressed regime. To the peoples of the world this support for a military dictatorship was misrepresented as "fraternal aid" under "proletarian internationalism." Let us hear what Soviet "Africa expert" G. Kokiev has to say on this in an article published on January 5, 1977, in the East Berlin periodical *Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika*:

> The army, formerly the reliable mainstay of imperial power, took the lead in the movement which emerged in 1974 for the political, economic and social renewal of the country. This fact evidences the grown political maturity of the middle and lower military cadres.

Shamefacedly this revisionist circuitously describes the "political maturity" of the military cadres in violently suppressing the working class, audaciously claiming the following:

> But it must also be emphasized **that the politics of the PMAC** [Provisional Military Administrative Council - The Editors] **do not always have the necessary support of the working class.** The reason, in our opinion, is above all that the military council does no systematic work among the working class.... Reactionary elements take advantage of this by exaggerating the economic difficulties and trying to sow dissatisfaction with the new leadership among the workers. This explains in particular the strike of the transport workers of Addis Ababa in October of 1975, which took place despite the ban issued by the military authorities. (Günter Schröder: *Brennpunkt Nordostafrika* 2,

p. 107; emphasis ours - The Editors)

We see — not just since Poland — that the revisionists are quick to slander workers' struggles as being "incited by reactionary elements." But Kokiev has exposed himself in these few lines : we Marxist-Leninists demand of a truly anti-imperialist government that it place itself entirely in the service of the working class. Revisionist Kokiev by contrast demands that the "working class support the politics of the government." What Kokiev does not say is that in their strike of October, 1975, the workers demanded the election of a people's government as had been promised in the programme of the Provisional Military Administrative Council. Against better judgement Kokiev asserts:

> Just as in other African countries in which the process of the formation of classes has not yet been completed and various transitional formations coexist, in Ethiopia, too, no non-exploiting social class can claim solely for itself the role of the leading sociopolitical force in the country. Rather this role is played in present-day Ethiopia by revolutionary democracy in the shape of the national patriotic military, which gives expression to the interests and aspirations of the workers and peasants, the radical intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie and the artisans. The traditional disintegration and heterogeneity of these social forces permitted the creation of the **revolutionary military dictatorship** in Ethiopia.... (*ibid.*, emphasis added by us - The Editors)

The Ethiopian army was a colonial army in the pay of imperialism. Ethiopian troops were sent to Korea and the Congo to quash national liberation struggles. Under Haile Selassie Ethiopian officers were paid with land in the feudal tradition. At best, such an army is suited to supporting social reforms on a capitalist basis. Because of its bourgeois class character it will never be capable of a fundamentally anti-imperialist policy, not to speak of assuming leadership in the anti-imperialist revolution.

The military council never even broke with imperialism. The foreign monopolies were not touched. Instead "private foreign investment in numerous economic fields receive far-reaching opportunities and are guaranteed just and reasonable profits..." ("Declaration of Economic Policy of Socialist Ethiopia" of February 1975). U.S. mili-

tary bases remained in the country until 1977, and the U.S.A. and Israel supplied the regime weapons.

The power struggle in the Provisional Military Administrative Council was not a struggle between the representatives of the capitalist and the non-capitalist roads, as the revisionists claim, but a struggle between the puppets of the Western imperialists and the puppets of the social-imperialists. The Mengistu clique came out on top, the leading representatives of which, according to a report of Radio Addis Ababa on August 23, 1979, were secretly sent to an Eastern Bloc country for "training" in 1976 to "subsequently spread, forthwith, Marxism-Leninism" (that is to say, revisionism) "in army and working class" (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, August 26, 1979, p. 22 830).

The war against the liberation movement in Eritrea shows just how unscrupulous the social-imperialists are in subordinating peoples fighting for their liberation to their social-imperialist goals. And it shows that they will not stop at any crime.

With the aid of the Mengistu regime the social-imperialists seized the opportunity to extend their strategic position at the Horn of Africa decisively and dislodge U.S. imperialism. This provided them a jumping-off place to the oil fields of Arabia and for control of the entrance to the Red Sea. But the national liberation struggle of the people of Eritrea stood in the way of this last goal. (Eritrea is a stretch of coast on the Red Sea in which the strategically important ports and bases lie.) As long as Ethiopia was a base of U.S. imperialism the national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people was "supported" by social-imperialism and the revisionist parties beholden to it. How "sincere" this support was is demonstrated by the already mentioned article of Kokiev, which says on the Eritrea question:

> After assuming power the new government worked systematically to ensure all Ethiopian citizens equal rights regardless of their nationality and religious persuasion....
>
> Certain circles reacted by blowing up the existing deeply rooted religious and ethnic differences and misusing them politically. This has led to a tense situation particularly in the north of the country, where since 1962, when Eritrea was denied its — in certain respects autonomous — special status by U.N. decision and firmly incorporated as a province in the Ethiopian polity, nationalistic elements

have been undertaking armed activities directed at separation....

The Ethiopian government, however, is determined to strengthen the unity of the country and protect its territorial integrity. (Günter Schröder, *Brennpunkt Nordostafrika* 2, p. 113)

To mask their social-imperialist goals the Soviet revisionists help to cover up the evidence of the colonial crimes of imperialism. But liars ought to have good memories. We quote here the standpoint on the Eritrea question presented by the **socialist** Soviet Union at the 5th Plenary Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1950. It applies equally to the **social-imperialist** Soviet Union of today:

The arguments advanced against the proposal that Eritrea be granted immediate independence are the same as those usually advanced in defense of the colonial system....

It is a logical consequence that the U.S.S.R. delegation rejects the proposal of a federation of Eritrea with another state, since such a federation disregards the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination by hindering Eritrea in the exercise of this right. The delegation of the Soviet Union bases its position on the fact that such a decision would be thrust upon the Eritrean people without their consent and, therefore, violates the fundamental right of a nation to self-determination....

Definitely this issue cannot be decided by an agreement amongst colonial powers. The solution 'federation' has indeed been brought up by the colonial powers led by the United States. (Quoted from: Memorandum Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], March, 1979, p. 16; our translation from the German.)

At the instigation of U.S. imperialism the "federation" then was approved by the U.N. **against** the votes of the socialist countries and people's democracies. In the view of the social-imperialists, today the "Ethiopian revolution," which "guarantees all Ethiopian citizens equal rights," makes the right of self-determination for the peoples in Ethiopia unnecessary. This, too, is a blatant distortion of Marxism-Leninism and is in reality bourgeois nationalism.

The repeatedly stated objection of the social-imperialists that the Eritrean liberation movement is convenient to U.S. imperialism is — even if it were true — no reason to call the right of national self-determination in question.

> The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain conditions, be utilized by another "great" power for its own, equally imperialist, aims, is just as unlikely to make the Social-Democrats refuse to recognize the right of nations to self-determination.... ("The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination," in: Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22 p. 148)

However the social-imperialists try to make it appear: behind the "socialist" facade which they have patched together, their barefaced Great-Power aspirations come more and more to light. Since 1977 the Ethiopian army has been conducting a brutal campaign against the Eritrean people with Cuban mercenaries and Soviet weapons and military advisors. The Eritrean Relief Association appealed to the world on January 5, 1982:

> The war machine rolls on and destroys countless people and property in its path. People try to flee the horror of war but lose their lives on the run, while the "lucky" ones who were able to escape find themselves in refugee camps in dire poverty.... There are strong indications that the Ethiopian government is preparing another offensive against Eritrea. What makes the coming offensive so alarming and frightful is the introduction of a new and deadly weapon by the Ethiopian army. It is certain that the Ethiopian government has recently decided to use nerve gas on its next offensive in Eritrea. (January 1982 leaflet of the Eritrean Relief Association)

Whoever chases the wolf out the front door must be very watchful not to let the tiger in through the back door. Ethiopia is a warning and a lesson to the peoples struggling for their liberation from imperialism.

The Invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Social-Imperialism in December, 1979

On December 27, 1979, the Soviet army crossed the borders of Afghanistan, occupied the country, installed a military dictatorship in civilian guise under their puppet Babrak Karmal, and spread bloody terror throughout the land. Why the great interest of the Soviet Union in controlling Afghanistan?

1. Afghanistan possesses many *natural resources* like anthracite coal, natural gas, iron ore, chrome, copper, lead, tin, salt, sulphur, bauxite, manganese, gold and lapis lazuli.

2. Afghanistan, situated between Iran and Pakistan and bordering the Soviet Union on the south, is of great *strategic significance* to social-imperialism *in the struggle to control the Indian Ocean.* The greatest hindrance to social-imperialism is *not having direct access to the Indian Ocean.*

In a *Pravda* commentary dated 5 April 1982, it was stressed quite openly that of all the countries in the world not bordering this ocean, there is none for whom it has such great importance as it does for the U.S.S.R. In view of their use of the mountain country to establish military bases for advancing further south, great significance must be attached to the occupation of Afghanistan. It brings the Soviet Union a bit closer to the longed-for control of the Indian Ocean.

The relations of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan were decisively influenced by these hegemonical aspirations since the end of the fifties. The social-imperialists secured the monopoly on weapons deliveries to Afghanistan long in advance. The Stockholm peace research institute SIPRI points out that the value of Soviet weapons deliveries to Afghanistan from 1960 to 1968 totalled 120 million dollars, for which they "only" took 70 million dollars (SIPRI: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *The Arms Trade with the Third World,* 1971, pp. 501-505). Parallel to this they opened up Afghanistan with tank-carrying concrete roads under "development aid" programs in 1964, shortened the distance from the Soviet frontier to Kabul by one third, and joined Kushka (in Soviet Turkmenistan) with the West Afghan city of Herat and further with Kandahar in the south of the country.

But the U.S. imperialists did not fold their hands. They built roads from Persia and Pakistan to Kabul. Between them the two Great Powers cut 10,000 kilometers of roads through the mountain country of Afghanistan between 1963 and 1973. To gain the upper hand in the struggle with the other superpower for control of Afghanistan, the Soviet revisionists shamelessly abused the confidence of the peoples of Afghanistan, which the *socialist* Soviet Union had earned since the

1920's. They provided training to hundreds of Afghan officers each year and brought them under their ideological and political influence in "courses" in the Soviet Union.

We cannot go into any great detail in this section on the economic dependence of Afghanistan on the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say the following: Afghanistan does about 50 percent of its foreign trade with the Soviet Union, but a large part of these export proceeds remain in the Soviet Union as interest payments. Afghanistan owed the Soviet Union 1.6 billion dollars at the beginning of 1980. Natural gas is the most important of Afghanistan's exports. Delivery of 70 billion cubic meters of gas to the Soviet Union through 1985 has been agreed (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 7 January 1980).

Table 15 shows Afghan raw material production, which is adapted to the interests of Soviet social-imperialism.

TABLE 15

Production of Major Industrial Commodities
(in thousands of tons)

	1967/68	1969/70	1972/73	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78
Electric power (millions kwh)	298.2	324.0	503.9	719.7	695.0	763.0
Natural gas (millions m^3)	342.0	2020.0	2849.0	2959.2	2546.0	2581.9
Anthracite coal	151.0	36.0	70.9	149.7	159.9	172.7
Salt	31.3	36.9	31.0	61.0	72.7	77.7
Cement	123.6	103.4	90.6	140.0	125.0	125.0

Source: *Länder der Erde, politisch-ökonomisches Handbuch*, p. 14

Both factors, the neocolonial exploitation of Afghanistan and the importance of its strategic location, encouraged the unbridled efforts

of the social-imperialists to force Afghanistan into their *direct* control. The first step was the overthrow of the semifeudal Zahir Shah regime in 1973 with the aid of the military. But his successor Daud, as it turned out later, was one of those "corrupt politicians" who were also willing to be bought by the other side (the Western imperialists) Consequently the social-imperialists pursued the plan to bring to power the leaders of the "Khalk Party" (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan), founded in 1965 and beholden to Moscow.

The military launched a new coup on April 27, 1978, eliminated Daud and made Nur Muhammad Taraki, secretary general of the Khalk Party, the "President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan." Knowing full well that this had been a *putsch* and not a revolution involving participation by the working masses, the Khalk functionaries brazenly called their coup d'etat a "model revolution." Taraki declared on 9 May:

> The armed rebellion of April 27, 1978, led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, therefore put an end to the dark chapter of the terrorist and fascist regime of Muhammad Daud — in broad daylight, in the shortest possible time, and with minimum losses. The revolutionary uprising of April 27 is thus, in the truest sense of the word, a victorious revolution of the people of Afghanistan, and not a putsch. (*Informations-Bulletin* 10/11, 1978, p. 66)

The "victorious people," unless it lived in Kabul at the site of the events, heard about them on radio. An eyewitness, Karl-Heinrich Rudersdorf, reports in his book *Afghanistan — eine Sowjetrepublik?* ("Afghanistan — A Soviet Republic?") about the role of the workers of one of the largest industrial enterprises of Afghanistan, the Gulbahar textile mill (almost half of the industrial workers work in textile mills), in the "model revolution":

> I found the factory manager and his deputy in the gatehouse of the Afghan Textile Company. The two, wearing Afghan clothing, which they normally only wore in their free time, were sitting in front of the telephone and radio waiting for information. Outside, at the factory gate, employees were taking down from the walls the picture of Muhammad Daud and his government slogans. All was quiet other-

wise. Nobody knew exactly what had happened in Kabul. (Page 20, emphasis added by us - The Editors)

That this "revolution" actually was a "model revolution" — the "Moscow model" — was indirectly admitted by Nazar Muhammad, the representative of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan at the Mannheim Party Congress of the DKP in October, 1978. He stated:

> Our revolution differs from other revolutions in that we were able to bring down the old state apparatus by the shortcut of spreading the ideology of the working class in the army. (Quoted in: *Afghanistan — eine Dokumentation*, pp. 114/115)

We want to remind the Soviet revisionists, these spiritual fathers of the "model revolution," what Lenin thought about such models:

> The term "putsch," in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses....
>
> To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. — to imagine all this is to *repudiate social revolution.* (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 355)

In view of the mistrust encountered by the Taraki regime among the workers, the poor peasants and the nomads, the Kremlin rulers urged great haste in carrying out antifeudal reforms from above in order to create a mass basis. As early as December 2, 1978, Taraki published "decree no. 8," a comprehensive land reform law. Andreas Kohlschütter, correspondent for the weekly *Die Zeit*, visited Afghanistan twice since April, 1978, and reported on the "land reform" on August 17, 1979:

> The balance of the first year of the revolution is indeed cause for

concern. The **land reform, rushed through** by the revolutionary zealots in just under six months, damaged the regime more than it benefitted it. Only 240,000 families, and not 676,000 as originally planned, received land from the property of former landlords. But many of the recipients stubbornly refuse to take possession of this land or to cultivate it. The reasons are varied:

One is the Islamic conscience which burdens them because appropriating other people's land is a sin. And then they fear the revenge of the local rulers, the secular and religious landlords whose land was taken, as soon as the party officials from Kabul or the provincial capital have made their speeches, distributed the deeds and disappeared again. A further reason is that the peasants who have been provided land by the government are the first to be registered in the military recruitment campaigns encompassing the whole of Afghanistan. And finally, in the rush the decisive supporting measures were neglected on which success and failure of a land reform depends.

For example, the "model revolutionary state" offered no substitute for the seed, fertilizer and tools formerly supplied by the landlords. To abolish exorbitant interest rates, private money lending was banned, but no credit institutes accessible to the average Afghan peasant were created in turn. (*Die Zeit* 34 of 17 August 1979)

The 1979 harvest was a complete failure, and the smallholders' mistrust turned into hatred for the regime. Unrest spread throughout the country in the course of 1979. Under the dominant influence of the landlords, who took advantage of the situation to defend their feudal privileges, a guerilla war of the Islamic tribes developed in all 28 provinces and increasingly limited the sway of the Taraki regime to Kabul and a few other larger cities. In his observations Kohlschütter came to the conclusion:

One thing is certain: the "model revolutionaries" who came to power in Kabul "in the name of the people" today govern without and against their people. They find themselves increasingly forced to compensate lack of political support with police methods and use of military force. The official theory of an exclusively foreign aggression is rapidly losing credibility. The enemy besieging the Taraki regime is inside the country. The "public enemy" which the regime pillories is the people itself. (*ibid.*)

The growing frequency with which the Afghan army was used to

suppress the rebels produced symptoms of disintegration among the troops and deeply alarmed the Soviet leaders. Entire units refused to obey orders in March, 1979. A fighter-bomber group refused to bomb the city of Herat, and the 7th Division, deployed in the south to combat "gangs," went over to the rebels. A hastily scheduled ideological campaign was set to counter the symptoms of subversion, as can be seen from the following instructions to commanders:

> To the Commanders
> of the Political Offices of the Air Force, the Air Defense Force,
> the Divisions, Begram Garrison and the War University
>
> For the purpose of maximally stabilizing the friendship between the armies of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union in keeping with the new friendship treaty, the following instructions are issued:
>
> ... in all divisions, units and institutes of the Ministry of Defense of the D.R.A. evening meetings are to be held on the topic of friendship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and discussions are to be organized with the military specialists and advisors of the Soviet Union.
>
> Speeches and reports must be given and an exchange of views must take place on the wartime experience of the Soviet army (the sacrifices of the Soviet soldiers in the second half of the Great Patriotic War), on the strengthening of friendship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and on the military solidarity of the armed forces of the people of the D.R.A. with the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. ....
>
> In all divisions and units the joint study and explanation of the works of comrade Brezhnev 'The small country' and 'Revolution' are to be prepared and organized. Scientific meetings on the two works are to be conducted with the officers.
>
> Methods and ways of organizing political and party matters under war conditions and questions of perfecting leadership and interrelations between commanders and men, which are dealt with in these works, must be put to discussion and debate in separate seminars for commanders and political workers....
>
> All remarks on occasion of the 61st anniversary of the founding of the Soviet army and navy should be directed towards future education of all members of the army in the spirit of the unshakeable friendship of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, towards exposing enemy propaganda and raising political consciousness, and towards

Figure 8

Positions of Soviet and Afghan army and air force units in January 1980

military preparedness of the armed forces.

The General Chairman for Political Affairs of the Armed Forces of the Afghan People

signed Mohammad Egbal"

(Translation of orders to the leadership of the Afghan army in 1979, abridged; quoted in full in: Karl-Heinz Rudersdorf, *Afghanistan — eine Sowjetrepublik?*, pp. 118/119)

On September 14, 1979, in a situation in which the social-imperialists were feverishly seeking a solution, Hafizullah Amin, Vice-President and "closest confidant" of Taraki, launched a coup in his absence and assumed power. Without any concern for this the Soviet Union supported Amin and continued their massive supply of weap-

ons. For example, they delivered 20 Mi-24 helicopters equipped with rockets, cannon and machine guns. They are most effective weapons for combating rebellious mountain tribes or suppressing mutinous troops. Ulrich Albrecht describes the tactics of this new type of helicopter in his contribution "The Soviet Invasion":

> Foreign experts [he means the military strategists of NATO - The Editors] are impressed with the work of the Soviet Mi-24 attack helicopters against the rebels. These armored aircraft are relatively insensitive to rifle fire. Actually designed to fight tanks, the new helicopters operate in Afghanistan preferably in teams: one hovers at an altitude of about 100 meters and serves as a gun platform with its heavy automatic cannon (estimated caliber 1.27 cm), while under its cover other helicopters of the same type attack the rebels at low level. (*ibid.*, p. 115).

The Soviet leaders used Amin as a bloodletter on the Afghan population. Simultaneously they worked out a plan to invade Afghanistan and install a new puppet, Babrak Karmal, on the pretext of freeing the people from the "dark power of the Amin regime." After Soviet troops occupied the country between December 24 and 26, 1979, it was announced over radio on the evening of December 27 that Hafizullah Amin had been condemned by a "revolutionary court" and executed with some of his followers and relatives. As "CIA agent," "American spy," "fascist," "cur," "Hitlerite," et cetera he had turned Afghanistan into a "slaughterhouse for millions of its sons," they said.

The NATO decision to station a new generation of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe, taken that same month, certainly played a decisive role in the timing of the invasion. This decision marked the end of the so-called policy of detente and the beginning of aggressive war preparations by the U.S. monopolies. The massive demonstration of military power by the Soviet Union with its invasion of Afghanistan can only be understood against this background. The invasion took place in three waves under the command of deputy defense minister Marshal Sergei L. Sokolov:

> First, an airborne invasion took place. Under fighter cover, 250

> Soviet transport aircraft touched down in 10 minute intervals at Kabul airport to land 5,000 soldiers.... Just as in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, these airborne troops entered the capital, occupied strategically important points and directed their guns at the local garrisons.
>
> Once Kabul was occupied, motorized infantry units came in through the frontier town of Termes, again with strong air support. These now secured an overland link between the Soviet Union and the capital Kabul. Now that the lines of communication were firmly in the hand of the Soviets, a third wave came bringing heavy equipment and supplies....
>
> Coinciding reports say that, in addition to the airborne division, five more divisions plus air force units were brought into the country, about 85,000 Soviet soldiers in all. According to figures which the correspondent of the magazine *Der Spiegel* claims to have obtained, the concentration of war materials includes 1,500 tanks, 2,000 armored personnel carriers and hundreds of 122 and 130 millimeter howitzers. If these figures are true, this concentrated firepower now serves as a deterrent — rebels cannot be fought with such heavy weapons. (*ibid.*, pp. 113/114 and 115).

The brutal sneak invasion of Afghanistan by social-imperialism must be a warning to the peace-loving peoples of the world not to fall for the revisionist melody of "peace power Soviet Union." Even if U.S. imperialism is currently warmonger Number 1, this goes for both superpowers: their assurance of peaceful intent is intended to lull the peoples to sleep and keep them from waging struggle against this barbaric rivalry for world domination.

(First published in REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 22, *Krieg und Frieden und die sozialistische Revolution*, 1983.)

VI

New Appearances in International Relations

1. Change of the Principle of Peaceful Coexistence

The development of capitalism of free competition into imperialism changed the conditions for proletarian revolution. Stalin declared:

> Formerly, the victory of the revolution in one country was considered impossible, on the assumption that it would require the combined action of the proletarians of all or at least a majority of the advanced countries to achieve victory over the bourgeoisie. Now this point of view no longer fits in with the facts. Now we must proceed from the possibility of such a victory; for the uneven and spasmodic character of the development of the various capitalist countries under the conditions of imperialism, the development within imperialism of catastrophic conditions leading to inevitable wars, the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries of the world — all this leads, not only to the possibility, but also to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries. (Stalin: *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 109)

Consequently, revolution can break out first only in one or the other country, and can lead up to victory if the conditions have fully matured.

Under these circumstances the basis of socialist foreign policy is **proletarian internationalism**, which means the support of proletarian and national liberation movements against imperialism. The socialist country must gear its foreign policies to peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries and take advantage of the contradictions between the imperialist powers to make possible and secure the peaceful construction of socialism. For this reason Lenin developed the policy of **peaceful coexistence** with non-socialist countries, for

example with Germany after World War I:

> While we stand alone and the capitalist world is strong, our foreign policy consists, on the one hand, in our having to utilize disagreements (to vanquish all the imperialist powers would, of course, be a most pleasant thing, but for a fairly long time we shall not be in a position to do so). On the one hand, our existence depends on the presence of radical differences between the imperialist powers, and, on the other, on the Entente's victory and the Peace of Versailles having thrown the vast majority of the German nation into a situation it is impossible for them to live in. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 475)

Lenin, however, left no doubt that such peaceful relations can only be temporary in character and do not at all abolish the aggressive nature of imperialism.

> While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph — the last obsequies will be observed either for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism. This is some respite from war. The capitalists will seek pretexts for going to war. If they accept our proposals and agree to concessions, that will be harder for them. (*ibid.*, p. 457)

In 1954, taking up Lenin, the Chinese government summed up five principles of peaceful coexistence:

> Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 271)

These policies and the conclusion of such treaties made it more difficult for the imperialist powers to carry out open aggression against socialist countries without revealing their true character to their own people or without disturbing the profit interests of some capitalists or monopoly groups by breaking the trade agreements.

The modern revisionists' view of the role of peaceful coexistence is in complete contrast to this. At the XXth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov declared peaceful coexistence the "general line of foreign policy," the "fundamental principle of Soviet foreign

policy," and said it was necessary to proceed further in relations with the imperialists to "strengthen confidence between countries, and cooperate" (N.S. Khrushchov, *Report of the Central Committee to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party*, pp. 26 and 27). The C.P.S.U. today goes even further when in its party programme of 1986 it demands:

> In a world full of sharp contradictions, in the face of a threatening catastrophe, there is only one reasonable, only one acceptable way out — the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. That does not simply mean the absence of war. It is an international system, not determined by military strength but by good neighborhood and cooperation, with a comprehensive exchange of scientific and technical achievements and of culture for the benefit of all peoples....
>
> The policy of peaceful coexistence as understood by the C.P.S.U. means : renunciation of war, of the use of force, or the threat of force, to solve conflicts; settlement of conflicts by way of negotiations; non-interference in internal affairs and respect of the other's legitimate interests; the right of peoples to determine their own destinies; strict respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries and the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of complete equality and reciprocal advantage.... (*Sowjetunion zu neuen Ufern?*, pp. 191/192 and 252)

How does the Soviet Union implement the policy of peaceful coexistence in practice? As long as the Soviet Union was a socialist country, Lenin's principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence with other countries were guaranteed. Is that also true for foreign policy as it is understood by the C.P.S.U. today? In its programme of 1986 the C.P.S.U. emphasizes:

> A revolution is the necessary result of the development of society and class struggle in a country. The C.P.S.U. has always stated and will continue to state that "export" of revolution is impermissible on principle and that revolution cannot be forced upon anyone from outside.... The Soviet Union is determined to reject any attempt violently to delay or reverse the course of history. (*ibid.*, p. 252)

Was the invasion of Soviet troops in Afghanistan supposed to

have been "export of revolution" against a reactionary regime? Or wasn't it, on the contrary, a social-imperialist attack on a peace-loving country?

The programme promises "strict respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries and the inviolability of their borders." What about Angola, where after the abolition of Portuguese colonial rule things went differently than the social-imperialists had hoped? They made Cuban troops interfere in the civil war and secure power for a group convenient to the Soviet Union. This did not prevent further fighting, however.

The draft goes on: "respect of the other's legitimate interests; the right of peoples to determine their own destinies." This stands in sharp contrast to the practical foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which militarily and morally supports the military regime in Ethiopia against the liberation movement of Eritrea.

The draft also stresses "non-interference in internal affairs" of peoples and the "inviolability of their borders." But that did not prevent the Soviet Union from invading Czechoslovakia in 1968.

These facts not only demonstrate that Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence have been abandoned by the Soviet Union today, but also reveal its social-imperialist character. Beginning with the XXth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in February, 1956, step by step the socialist system was abolished and replaced by a system of bureaucratic capitalism. Capitalist laws, once introduced, work automatically and lead in their further development to social-imperialism.

The Cuban missile crisis of 1962, caused by social-imperialist foreign policies directed at the U.S.A. (stationing of nuclear missiles in Cuba), forced Khrushchov to retreat because otherwise a nuclear war would have broken out. The ensuing detente put an end to the "Cold War." The economic interests of Western capitalists came to the fore. Zbigniew Brzezinski, American professor and later advisor to President Carter, wrote about this situation in 1965:

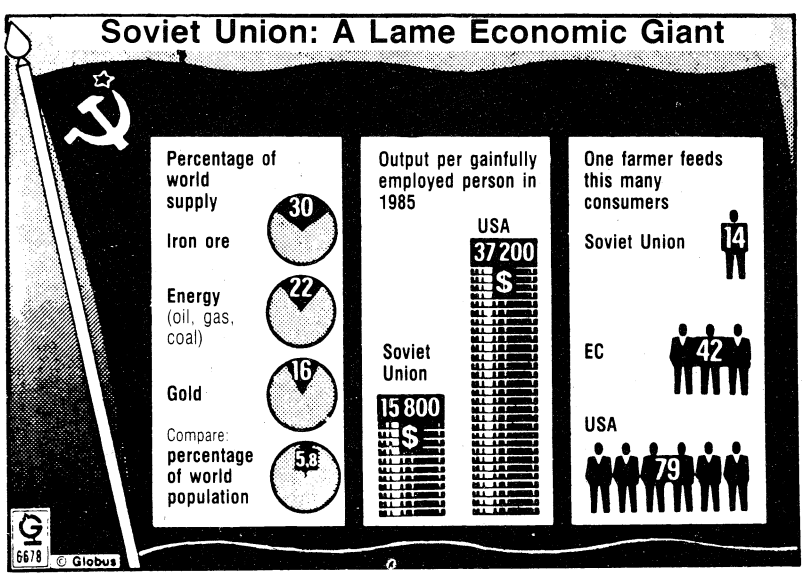
> In the post-Cuba detente, there is a broader opportunity for the West to come to grips with the basic problem of East-West relations. By taking the initiative, America would point up the broader scope of America's European policy and accelerate the tendencies in the East

which are favorable to closer East-West relations. The appropriate content of such an initiative would be economic, since that is the most vulnerable point in East Europe, and since the possibility of East-West economic cooperation has achieved a certain ideological respectability in East Europe.... (*Alternative to Partition*, p. 169)

But the bureaucratic capitalist development could not yet cope with this economic cooperation, and East-West relations wilted. The foreign policy of the U.S.A. grew more aggressive. The U.S. interfered militarily in the Vietnam War.

The Soviet Union aimed at growing into a second superpower in order to be able to compete with the U.S.A. in the plans for world hegemony. A nuclear arms race between the two superpowers threatened to engulf the world. In spite of extraordinary economic efforts the Soviet Union only became a *military superpower*, in contrast to the U.S.A., which was also an economic superpower. Meanwhile, the bureaucratic capitalism of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries has finished up in a blind alley.

Figure 9



2. Gorbachov's Turn to the "New Political Thinking"

The concentration of a large part of Soviet economic potential on military armament, particularly on the building of warships and nuclear missiles of all ranges, went at the cost of general economic development. While the big industrial countries in the West reshaped their economies along the most advanced lines with the introduction of automation and electronics, the *Soviet economy fell further and further behind* (see Figure 9 on previous page).

Comparison of the economic potentials of the Soviet Union and the Western industrial powers in 1960 shows the Soviet Union in second place behind the U.S.A., followed by the EC and Japan. In 1970 the Soviet share of world economic potential was still 13 percent, only to fall to just 8 percent in 1986. GNP growth shows the same pattern. In 1960 the Soviet Union was second to the U.S.A. but ahead of Japan and the EC. Then it was rapidly surpassed by the EC and particularly Japan, as these figures prove:

TABLE 16

Gross National Product (GNP) in billions of dollars

	1960	1970	1980	1986	Increase 1960-1986
U.S.A.	509	990	2,602	4,200	8.25fold
EC	191	480	2,765	3,400	17.80fold
Japan	43	205	1,040	1,800	41.86fold
Soviet Union	223	435	1,050	1,230	5.25fold

Source: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of December 10, 1986

Due to imports of modern Western technology, foreign debt rose from a gross US$ 21.4 billion in 1984 to $23.3 billion in 1985 and to

$28.3 billion in 1986. The decline of the Soviet economy in comparison to the capitalist powers of the West became obvious.

Soviet bureaucratic capitalism with its rigid, bureaucratic, ossified forms was no equivalent to Western capitalism in economic terms. It was not a serious competitor on the world market. Its ambiguous nature expressed itself in the revision of Marxism-Leninism on the one hand while using it as a cover to deceive the masses on the other.

Meanwhile, the nuclear armament of the two superpowers U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. has taken on such proportions that in a nuclear world war all higher forms of life on earth could be extinguished. If one superpower were to attack the other it would bring about its own destruction. The superpowers have reached an impasse and are searching for ways out. Step-by-step disarmament and destruction of existing nuclear weapons appears expedient and necessary. Acknowledgement of this fact is the basis, *in foreign affairs*, of the New Political Thinking Gorbachov has called for. That, however, does not change the imperialist character of Soviet politics, which, on the other hand, involves temporary renunciation of the strategy of world domination.

At the XXVIIth Congress of the C.P.S.U., General Secretary Gorbachov declared, "The Soviet Union does not ask for more security, but it will not accept less" (*Sowjetunion zu neuen Ufern?*, p. 119). This means that Gorbachov does not have in mind a general disarmament of the superpowers' military potential. Apart from chemical and bacteriological weapons, the new conventional weapon systems have a destructive power never before imagined and are constantly being improved. The change in Soviet strategy will not secure peace, let alone create a peaceful world. On the contrary, imperialism cannot change its character. In the light of the experience of the working population with imperialism, it is pure cynicism when DKP theorist Heinz Jung (director of the "Institute for Marxist Studies and Research") declares:

> Basically the point is to push back the forces of the military-industrial complex, to prevent transition to a state-monopolistic capitalism of armament and war and to secure a kind of civil monopoly capitalism. (*Blätter für Internationale Politik und Wirtschaft* No. 2, 1987)

The "point" is to get the working people to support the changed imperialist foreign policies with such illusions.

The SPD analyzed the changes in the Soviet Union in a strategy paper and stated:

> The worldwide political situation and particularly the developments in Europe doubtlessly have decisive bearing on the reform efforts: a continuation of the gigantic arms race and the aggravation of East-West relations would considerably restrict the economic and political scope for reforms in the U.S.S.R. Conversely, this provides the political opportunity for a European policy. (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, March 4, 1986)

But Gorbachov's "New Political Thinking" contains a further aspect. It envisages gradually drawing the two capitalist systems closer together in order to overcome the economic lag of the bureaucratic capitalism of the Soviet Union behind the state-monopoly capitalism of the Western powers.

This long-range plan is to be implemented on the basis of bilateral treaties at first, and then continued all the way to the integration of the two capitalist systems (the private-capitalist and the bureaucratic-capitalist systems) on the basis of mutual cooperation between enterprises and the development of free trade relations without government interference. This last point will only be possible by relaxing and gradually eliminating the foreign trade monopoly in the Soviet Union, which was built up as a barrier to capitalist countries when the Soviet Union was still a socialist country. This process already started in the 1960's and prompted Professor Brzezinski to write in his book *Alternative to Partition*:

> These changes in attitude suggest that economic pressures were capable of profoundly changing earlier communist views and practices. Indeed, these external changes have been paralleled by domestic reforms. The climate surrounding Western businessmen in East Europe and Russia improved enormously during the early sixties. Some of the East European states, notably Poland and Czechoslovakia, began to revise their foreign trade structure, and it is to be expected that all the communist states will do likewise. (p. 68)

The rapprochement and interpenetration of the two capitalist systems take place not only in the sphere of economics. As we pointed out back in 1972:

> Here we see how closely economic policy and ideology are coupled. U.S. imperialism knows full well that capitalist restoration in the revisionist countries cannot be promoted only by economic means. Penetration by bourgeois ideology must follow, initially through cultural relations. (REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 9, p. 250 of this book)

For example, in 1986 a reciprocal cultural agreement was concluded between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. involving six exhibitions of fine arts in the G.D.R. and five in the F.R.G. West Berlin's "Grips-Theater" will play in the G.D.R. and East Berlin's German Opera in Düsseldorf. Book exhibitions and seminars will be organized.

What is new in these cultural agreements are partnerships between universities and an exchange of students. Quite in the spirit of economic convergence a partnership has been agreed between the Technical Universities of Aachen and Dresden. A student exchange between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. has been arranged for 1988 along the following lines:

The F.R.G. offers 200 places for one-month and 100 places for six-month sojourns.

The G.D.R. promises to offer 100 places for a one-month stay for studies and ten for six months.

There already have been preparations for an exchange of apprentices and secondary school students. "Close cooperation" was agreed between Bonn's minister Möllemann and the G.D.R. minister for university and technical college affairs Böhme.

Gorbachov's "New Political Thinking" aims at a "course of reforms" in domestic affairs because contradictions within bureaucratic-capitalist society have sharpened. In order to gain the confidence of the Soviet population he took action in cases of blatant corruption and neglect in the bureaucratic apparatus. What really counts, however, is the introduction of self-management in industrial enterprises. For that a special law was passed.

"Law on State Enterprises and Associations"

This law is designed to get the economy moving and initiate "economic competition between enterprises." This is just another expression for capitalist competition between enterprises. The monopolies enjoyed by certain production units are to be restricted in order to develop the (capitalist) market.

The bureaucratically entangled central apparatus with its material balances and distribution plans is to be gradually reduced and the free sale of means of production organized through wholesale firms. In keeping with their obligation to prevent environmental damage, the factories have to finance pollution control investment out of their own funds and through loans. The income of enterprises will be distributed as the enterprises see fit, on the basis of self-administration.

Factory management will be elected by the whole staff: directors for five years, department heads and foremen for two to three years. The election of the director is to be confirmed by the respective ministry. Department heads and foremen are confirmed by the director.

Central planning is being replaced by factory-level planning taking into account free sale. Bureaucratic control over enterprises is abolished.

Labor productivity, which according to Soviet sources is only 40 percent of the American standard, will be increased by rationalization and closure of unprofitable factories. 10 to 15 percent of production jobs are to be eliminated. This will cause growing unemployment (at present, about 3 percent).

The "law on state enterprises and associations," which has been in force since January 1, 1988, is intended to provide the legal foundation for far-reaching economic reform. Gorbachov says:

> This draft law basically contains a new ideology of economic management.... It will change the conditions and methods in the main sector of the economy from the roots up. In the work of our enterprises, it will regulate the relations between planning, as basis, and complete economic accounting; between independence and responsibility; and it will legitimize new forms of self-administration.

This bureaucratic-capitalist economic reform is also planned as an incentive to Western monopoly capitalists to enlarge their capital investments in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in turn will also invest capital in Western capitalist countries, especially in the form of joint ventures. This mutual penetration of capital is supposed to serve as the decisive means to bring together and integrate the two capitalist systems.

Until a few years ago the modern revisionists rejected the theory of convergence concocted in the West during the sixties.

This theory propagates the possibility of capitalism and "real socialism" gradually growing together. At the time it served as an ideological smokescreen to conceal the fact that the interpenetration of Eastern and Western capitalism which had set in with the policy of detente was not the fusion of two entirely different systems. At the same time it was designed to foster illusions among the masses of a "third road" between capitalism and socialism (see chapter III.4).

Today the modern revisionists propagate the theory of convergence themselves, since it serves them a good purpose as an ideological haze to mask the true nature of Gorbachov's course.

Pissarevski, commentator of the Soviet news agency Novosti, noted in an article entitled "Is there convergence of the systems?":

> Dogmatism is a general phenomenon. In my opinion it is as equally far spread in the West as in the East. Only its outward form is different. The artificial opposites of plan and market are an example. For decades, socialist economic leaders have considered planning absolute. Capitalist entrepreneurs have idolized the market for centuries.
>
> So socialist economy suffers from inflexibility, Western economy from unevenness and disproportionality of development. Hence in socialism a shortage of labor arises, in capitalism a shortage of jobs. Adding to the problem is such a general evil as the production of useless, superfluous goods at unjustifiably high cost to the environment and at the expense of increasing worldwide pollution. So does the author preach convergence? Perhaps. Of course, not absolute convergence, but relative, the **convergence of common sense.** (*Die Tat* of August 28, 1987; emphasis added by us - The Editors)

The "convergence of common sense" is just another term for the "New Political Thinking" propagated by Gorbachov.

In domestic affairs Gorbachov's "New Political Thinking" aims at "reforms" for which the terms *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) were coined. These terms, which refer to certain manifestations of the changes in the Soviet Union, are massively spread by the mass media in East and West, because, catchy as they are, they are extremely well-suited to conceal the nature of the changes in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachov's "Reforms" and the Ideologists of the DKP

Gorbachov's "law on state enterprises and associations" ends up introducing the Yugoslavian model of "self-management of enterprises." This is something which the leaders of Solidarity in Poland also demanded. Willi Gerns, chief ideologist of the DKP, disparagingly criticized their politics under the headline: "Poland and the demand for 'self-administration of enterprises'" (in: *Marxistische Blätter* No. 6, 1981). Here are some excerpts from this long article:

> The counterrevolutionary Solidarity leaders openly lay claim to leadership. Behind the hazy curtain of the demand for self-administered enterprises they attack socialist ownership by society as a whole....
>
> As already mentioned, the demand for "self-administration," also put forward under the slogan "workers' self-management," occupies a central position in the counterrevolutionary concept of the Solidarity leaders....
>
> The "Guidelines for the Work of the Independent Trade Union Solidarity in the Present Situation of the Country (Theses)," published for the Solidarity Congress, demand, for example, "Central planning should lose its directive character..., should not have operative character.... The socialized factories should be given independence to decide on production program and methods. At the same time the central distribution of raw materials and other means of production should be limited with the aim of abandoning it completely.... An enterprise should be freely able to dispose of the profits it makes and also be able to use them ... for investments."
>
> Putting these Solidarity demands into practice would mean abol-

ishing central planning, as only those enterprises would adhere to it which profit by it....

The Solidarity guidelines demand further: "The condition for the effectivity of factories in the new system is the demonopolizing of the market and the development of a certain degree of competition among the producers." In addition to the friction which this "competition of producers" would inevitably generate, the implementation of this concept would burden the Polish economy with a whole range of problems and accumulate social dynamite.

The "guidelines" themselves already hint at some of the problems: "The operation of such a planned market economy will cause certain problems in society.... The far-reaching independence of factories and the principle of market economy can cause economic and social difficulties (price increases, employment problems, etc.)." The "self-administered factories" are supposed to have the right "to adjust the number of workers to their needs." That also means to dismiss "superfluous" workers....

Finally, the "guidelines" demand that "factory management ... should have the right to dispose of factory property, to decide what will be produced and sold and what will be invested. It should also be able to decide on the distribution of factory profits.... Particularly necessary in workers' self-management is participation in appointing and dismissing directors." (pp. 86, 88 and 89)

It looks as if Gorbachov has taken the Solidarity guidelines as the model for his plan of self-management of state enterprises. According to Gerns' logic, Gorbachov is treading the path of counterrevolution. How does Gerns now intend to withdraw his neck from the ideological noose he has made for himself? Will he brand Gorbachov a counterrevolutionary or will he adopt Gorbachov's "New Political Thinking"? As a staunch revisionist he will surely do the latter. Those who entangle themselves in the web of revisionism will perish in it.

Gorbachov's Offensive against the Soviet Working Class

Behind the catchword *perestroika* there is no revolutionary change in the economic base of the Soviet Union, as Gorbachov would have us believe, but a deepening of capitalist restoration.

To give his ambitious economic plans even a slight chance of suc-

cess, Gorbachov is forced to combine his economic reforms with domestic political reforms.

Since 1956 there have been repeated attempts to increase the efficiency of the bureaucratic-capitalist economy by reforms of its fossilized structures. But they were not successful, the main reason being that all the predecessors of Gorbachov believed they could eliminate bureaucratic hindrances without attacking the bureaucracy. That, however, they did not dare to do, for the masses of lower and middle bureaucrats in the machinery of the party, the state and the economy are the crucial social basis of the thin stratum at the top of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie.

In contrast to his predecessors Gorbachov realizes that there is no other way than to attack large parts of this social basis and to risk open conflict with the working class. In late July, 1987, he announced in Senograd that he was going to reduce by one half the number of bureaucrats in government administration, which he put at 18 million.

The new labor law and the intended price reform are frontal attacks on the social situation of the working class and other working people. This course had been set long in advance. In 1983, Professor Tatyana Saslavskaya of the Siberian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk published an analysis which formulated the "Gorbachov course" long before Gorbachov was party chairman. Under the title "Novosibirsk secret paper" this document caused quite a sensation in the West and occasioned the DKP to doubt its authenticity. Saslavskaya brought out the antipeople character of the Gorbachov reforms much more openly than Gorbachov in his speeches. In her Novosibirsk paper she wrote:

> Therefore, a fundamental change in the management structure of the national economy affects the interests of many groups in society. For some of them it means improvement, for others, however, deterioration of their position.
>
> Therefore, the attempts of the central authorities to develop the relations of production by adjustment to the higher level of the productive forces will necessarily produce conflicts.
>
> A successful solution to this problem is only possible on the basis

> of a well-thought-out social strategy which simultaneously seeks to activate those groups interested in a change of the present conditions and to block those trying to slow change down. (*Osteuropa-Info* No. 53, 3/1983, pp. 70/71)

In the following she analyzes who these "groups" are with whom conflict is inevitable. On the one hand, there are the parts of the bureaucracy who have been declared redundant and are worried about their privileges and livelihoods.

The working class, on the other hand, is considered the far greater problem. Saslavskaya describes it as follows:

> The general characteristics of the workers, whose personality structures have been formed over the last five-year planning periods, are poor discipline, widespread indifference, low quality of work, social inactivity, definite consumer mentality, and low morale.
>
> Further to be mentioned are widespread theft, all kinds of black market activities at the expense of society, and a mentality of demanding wages without regard for performance. (*ibid.*)

Unbridled contempt for the masses speaks from these words. But aside from this, one big question arises: are such "general characteristics" of the whole working class supposed to have been formed in so-called "developed socialism"? It was the bureaucrats themselves who destroyed the workers' socialist consciousness with their policy of material incentives since 1956 and injected petty-bourgeois thinking into the working class on a massive scale. What Saslavskaya describes is nothing else but petty-bourgeois mentality.

The purpose of this whole line of reasoning is to present the working class as the main obstacle to progress and justify the attacks on the workers. These attacks will inevitably cause class contradictions to intensify. To deal with this, a "social strategy" to dampen these class contradictions has been devised: *glasnost*.

The West German daily *Rheinische Post* reports on the visit to the Soviet Union of a high-ranking German Trade Union Federation (DGB) delegation, led by its chairman Ernst Breit, on August 1, 1987:

> The change to profitability calculations in Soviet enterprises will lead to conflicts of interest between management and employees in a

form "we are probably more used to." The Soviet side acknowledged the much greater experience of the DGB in this area. Breit did not want to rule out that Shalaev and his organization might one day draw on this experience. The Soviet trade unionists had shown great interest in co-determination models.

So there is no "revolutionary change" in the Soviet superstructure either, but an approach to conditions here: co-determination as a trick to make the hard line against the working class succeed.

Gorbachov's policies will seriously aggravate the contradictions in the Soviet Union:

— The class-conscious workers are fighting increased exploitation and threatening mass unemployment.

— Large sections of the working population and especially the retired are affected by the planned price increases for food.

— Small and middle bureaucrats are afraid of losing their privileges.

— Backward sections of the working class, accustomed to laxity and nepotism, also fear Gorbachov's reforms.

— Pent-up contradictions of national minorities and demands against growing environmental destruction increasingly come to light.

— The openly pro-Western 'dissidents' are speaking up more aggressively.

— On top of that, there are contradictions in the leadership of the C.P.S.U. itself and to various East European governments, who fear being overwhelmed by the new developments.

With the introduction of bureaucratic capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, capitalist laws operate in just the same way as they do in the private-capitalist countries. Impoverishment of the masses owing to lack of food and energy and enormous price increases intensify the contradictions and result in demonstrations, rallies and strikes. Oppression by the police and military follows. All this leads to the aggravation of class contradictions in all bureaucratic-capitalist countries.

For the workers of these countries as well as for the working class of the Western capitalist countries, the goal is to carry out revolution

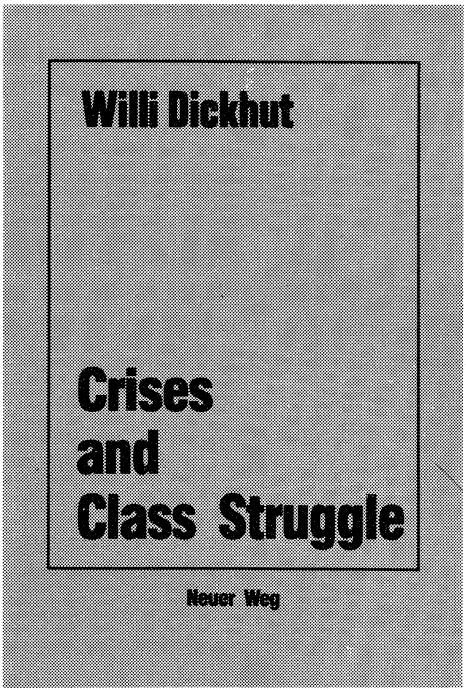
for the overthrow of capitalist rule and to introduce or reintroduce socialism. This calls for socialist consciousness, which is often submerged today.

Consequently, the dialectical unity of theory and practice must be reestablished. This requires conscious application of the dialectical method to the study of the processes and phenomena in society and its application in the class struggle against bureaucratic capitalism.

There is no fundamental difference between this class struggle and the struggle against Western capitalism. In East and West the working class has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation. Its world outlook is dialectical and historical materialism. Both here and there, the dialectical unity of theory and practice must be achieved. Whether here or there, if new problems arise, if new phenomena and processes emerge in nature and society, they must be studied profoundly, considered from all sides, analyzed, characterized; the relations to other things, phenomena and processes must be investigated; the contradictions must be revealed, the struggle and unity of opposites found out and made concrete. The analyzed parts and the results of investigations must then be summed up in a synthesis. Every Marxist-Leninist must endeavor to understand dialectics in nature and society and to apply it in theory and practice of class struggle, in the way Lenin teaches us:

> One must use one's own brains and be able to find one's bearings in each particular instance. It is, in fact, one of the functions of a party organization and of party leaders worthy of the name, to acquire, through the prolonged, persistent, variegated and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of a given class, the knowledge, experience and — in addition to knowledge and experience — the political flair necessary for the speedy and correct solution of complex political problems. (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 68/69)

(First published in REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG 24, *Die dialektische Einheit von Theorie und Praxis*, 1988.)

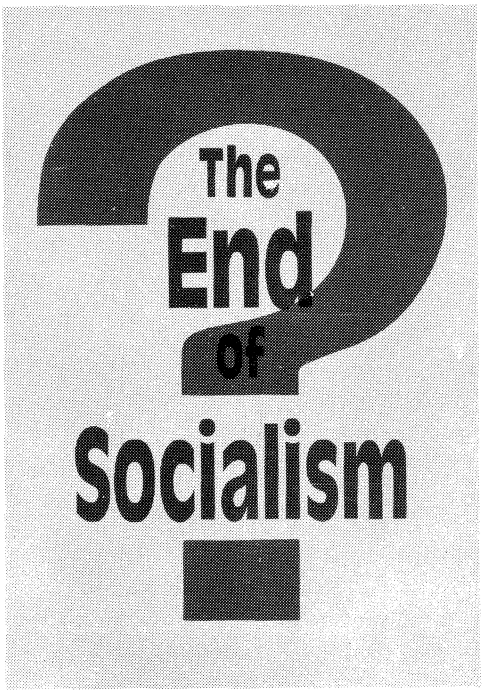


Crises and Class Struggle
Willi Dickhut

259 pages, numerous illustrations and tables
ISBN 3-88021-146-9
appr. **15 Dollar**

A study of the manifold symptoms of crisis in our day: the different crises in the production process, the finance system, and the political and social system give rise to the conclusion: only a genuine socialist order can eliminate these crises.

Also available in French and German!



The End of Socialism?
146 pages, with photographs and documents
ISBN 3-88021-225-2
appr. **6 Dollar**

Developments in the G.D.R. show: when petty-bourgeois thinking gained the upper hand, socialism was destroyed! It isn't socialism, but bureaucratic capitalism that failed.

From the contents: The 20th Party Congress of the CPSU as the starting point of the restoration of capitalism * The total dependence of the KPD on SED headquarters * Microelectronics and the rigid planning system of the G.D.R. * Intrigues against critics – previously unpublished documents of the SED Politburo * Lessons for moving forward to socialism again.

Also available in French, Spanish, German and Turkish!

Mao Tsetung Centennial

The Center for Social Studies in Utrecht, Netherlands, and the Workers' Education Center in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, have organized an international seminar on November 6/7, 1993, on occasion of the 100th birthday of Mao Tsetung. Leading Marxist-Leninists from across the world and renowned scientists and China experts took part.

In the near future, a documentation on the International Seminar will be published as book and as videofilm in English.

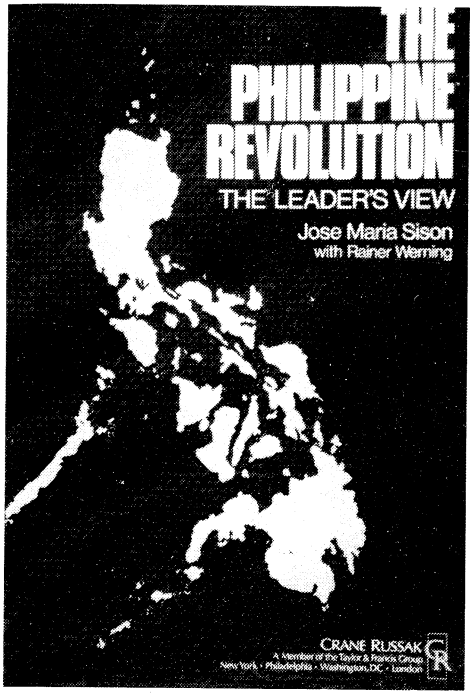
In the series **Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis der internationalen Revolution** ("Contributions to the Theory and Practice of the International Revolution") the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) has published their assessment of Mao Tsetung also in English.

No. 3: The 100th Birthday of Mao Tsetung Marks the Triumph of His Ideas over Modern Revisionism

about 60 pages, appr. 4 **Dollar**

No. 4: Mao Tsetung Thought and the Doctrine of the Mode of Thinking

about 50 pages, appr. 4 **Dollar**



The Philippine Revolution
The Leader's View
Jose Maria Sison
with **Rainer Werning**
241 pages,
15 Dollar
ISBN 0-8448-1581-0

In interview form, Jose Maria Sison, poet, former politics teacher, and co-founder of the new Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), gives a gripping insight into the history of the liberation struggle of the Filipino people. Many years Chairman of the CPP, he was arrested under Marcos and severely tortured. Throughout the world, democratic writers like Heinrich Böll and Simone de Beauvoir spoke out for his release. In his home country today he is still the most popular and most important opposition leader against the corrupt U.S.-dependent regime of General Ramos. He is currently living in exile in the Netherlands. A broad solidarity movement has formed demanding the immediate grant of political asylum to Sison.

Published by Taylor & Francis, U.S.A.
Sales Office: Taylor & Francis Inc.
242 Cherry St. Philadelphia, PA 19106-1906, U.S.A.
or: Rankine Road, Basingstoke, Hants RG24 8PR, UK.

Also available by New Road Edition, Germany

Der Neokolonisalismus und die Veränderungen im nationalen Befreiungskampf
Klaus Arnecke/ Stefan Engel

335 pages, numerous illustrations and tables
ISBN 3-88021-250-3

"Neocolonialism and the Changes in the National Liberation Struggle" is the English translation of this title. 650 million people flee from famine, war, political persecution or environmental catastrophe today – a glaring indictment of the capitalist world system, which is unable to offer humanity a secure future. The authors uncover what's behind this and point out a positive perspective. They investigate the crisis of neocolonialism and the possibilities for a new upsurge of the liberation struggles against the background of the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Coming up in 1994/95, currently available in German

New Road Edition

"Everyone interested in acquiring a comprehensive and profound understanding of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries in the Soviet bloc, up to the destruction of the revisionist ruling parties and revisionist-ruled regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union, must read Willi Dickhut's *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union.*

The translation and publication of this book in English are of great importance to revolutionary activists, intellectuals and scholars in the English-reading world. Previously, the book had been translated into Turkish, French, Spanish, Finnish, Greek and Persian from the German original.

This book is written by an outstanding proletarian revolutionary fighter and worker-theoretician, using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. The analysis is based on a wealth of information and data. The insights are sharpened by the author's lifelong involvement in the workers' revolutionary struggle in Germany and his first hand knowledge of the Soviet Union.

The book traces the development of the bureaucracy from a petty-bourgeoisified stratum to a new-type bourgeoisie as ruling class under Khrushchov's leadership in 1956, points to the anti-Marxist revisions in ideology and political and economic line and describes the economy of bureaucrat capitalism and its development as state monopoly capitalism and social-imperialism, especially from the time of Brezhnev and up to the anticommunist 'new thinking' of Gorbachov."

From the foreword of *Jose Maria Sison,* Founding Chairman, Communist Party of the Philippines